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ECCLESIASTICAL BIOGRAPHY;

OR

LIVES OF EMINENT MEN,

CONNECTED WITH THE

HISTORY OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND;

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE REFORMATION
TO THE REVOLUTION;

SELECTED AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES,

BY

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, M.A.

BEAN AND RECTOR OF BOCKING, AND DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO HIS
GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOL. VI.

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ERRATUM IN VOL. VI.

Page 402, Note, l. 2, *for* Buit, read Birch.

So natural is the union of religion with justice, that we
may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For
how should they be unduly just, when religion does not
cause to be such as they religiously, which are not found
each by the proof of their just actions? If they, which con-
fess their labors and travail about the public administration
of justice, are not so, they are not so, and
SIR MATTHEW HALE.
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that justice is God's own work, and themselves his agents
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and themselves his priests to deliver it, forasters of justice
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So natural is the union of religion with justice, that we may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For how should they be unfeignedly just, whom religion doth not cause to be such, or they religious, which are not found such by the proof of their just actions? If they, which employ their labour and travail about the public administration of justice, follow it only as a trade, with unquenchable and unconscionable thirst of gain, being not in heart persuaded that justice is God's own work, and themselves his agents in this business; the sentence of right God's own verdict, and themselves his priests to deliver it, formalities of justice do but serve to smother right, and that, which was necessarily ordained for the common good, is through shameful abuse made the cause of common misery. HOOKER.

PREFACE

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Account is reprinted intire, from
The Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, Knt.
sometime Lord Chief Justice of His Majesties
Court of King's Bench ; written by Gilbert Bur-
nett, D. D. London. 1682.

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PREFACE.

NO part of history is more instructive and delighting, than the lives of great and worthy men. The shortness of them invites many readers; and there are such little, and yet remarkable passages in them, too inconsiderable to be put in a general history of the age in which they lived, that all people are very desirous to know them. This makes Plutarch's Lives be more generally read, than any of all the books which the ancient Greeks or Romans writ.

But the lives of heroes and princes are commonly filled with the account of the great things done by them, which do rather belong to a general, than a particular history; and do rather amuse the reader's fancy with a splendid shew of greatness, than offer him what is really so useful to himself. And indeed the lives of princes are either writ with so much flattery, by those who intended to merit by it at their own hands, or others concerned in them: or with so much spite, by those who being ill used by them, have revenged themselves on their memory, that there is not much to be built on them: and though the ill nature of many makes what is satirically writ to be generally more read and believed, than when the flattery is visible and coarse; yet certainly resentment may make the writer corrupt the truth of history, as much as interest. And since all men have their blind sides, and commit errors, he that will industriously lay these together, leaving out, or but slightly

slightly touching what should be set against them, to balance them, may make a very good man appear in bad colours. So, upon the whole matter, there is not that reason to expect either much truth, or great instruction, from what is written concerning heroes or princes; for few have been able to imitate the patterns Suetonius set the world, in writing the lives of the Roman Emperors, with the same freedom that they had led them. But the lives of *private* men, though they seldom entertain the reader with such a variety of passages as the other do; yet certainly they offer him things that are more imitable, and do present wisdom and virtue to him, not only in a fair idea, which is often looked on as a piece of the invention or fancy of the writer, but in such plain and familiar instances, as do both direct him better, and persuade him more; and there are not such temptations to biass those who write them, so that we may generally depend more on the truth of such relations as are given in them.

In the age in which we live, religion and virtue have been proposed and defended with such advantages, with that great force of reason, and those persuasions, that they can hardly be matched in former times: yet after all this, there are but few much wrought on by them; which perhaps flows from this, among other reasons, that there are not so many excellent patterns set out, as might both in a shorter, and more effectual manner recommend that to the world, which discourses do but coldly; the wit and stile of the writer being more considered than the argument which they handle; and therefore the proposing virtue and religion in such a model, may perhaps operate more than the perspective of it can do. And for the history of learning, nothing does so preserve and improve it,

as the writing the lives of those who have been eminent in it.

There is no book the Ancients have left us, which might have informed us more than Diogenes Laertius' Lives of the Philosophers, if he had had the art of writing equal to that great subject which he undertook; for if he had given the world such an account of them, as Gassendus has done of Peiresk, how great a stock of knowledge might we have had, which, by his unskilfulness, is in a great measure lost: since we must now depend only on him, because we have no other, or better author, that has written on that argument!

For many ages there were no lives writ but by monks; through whose writings there runs such an incurable humour, of telling incredible and inimitable passages, that little in them can be believed or proposed as a pattern. Sulpitius Severus and Jerome shewed too much credulity in the lives they writ, and raised Martin and Hilarion beyond what can be reasonably believed: after them, Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, and Palladius, took a pleasure to tell uncouth stories of the monks of Thebais and Nitria; and those who came after them, scorned to fall short of them, but raised their saints above those of former ages; so that one would have thought that indecent way of writing could rise no higher: and this humour infected even those who had otherwise a good sense of things, and a just apprehension of mankind, as may appear in Matthew Paris; who, though he was a writer of great judgment and fidelity, yet he has corrupted his history with much of that alloy. But when emulation and envy rose among the several orders, or houses, then they improved in that art of making romances, instead of writing lives, to that pitch, that the world became generally much scandalized

scandalized with them: the Franciscans and Dominicans tried who could say the most extravagant things of the founders, or other saints of their orders; and the Benedictines, who thought themselves possessed of the belief of the world, as well as of its wealth, endeavoured all that was possible still to keep up the dignity of their order, by outlying the others all they could; and whereas here or there, a miracle, a vision, or trance, might have occurred in the lives of former saints; now every page was full of those wonderful things.

Nor has the humour of writing in such a manner, been quite laid down in this age, though more awakened, and better enlightened; as appears in the life of Philip Neri, and a great many more: and the Jesuits at Antwerp, are now taking care to load the world with a vast and voluminous collection of all those lives that has already swelled into eleven volumes in folio, in a small print; and yet being digested according to the calendar, they have yet but ended the month of April. The life of Monsieur Renty is writ in another manner, where there are so many excellent passages, that he is justly to be reckoned amongst the greatest patterns that France has afforded in this age.

But while some have nourished infidelity, and a scorn of all sacred things, by writing of those good men in such a strain, as makes not only what is so related to be disbelieved, but creates a distrust of the authentical writings of our most holy faith; others have fallen into another extreme in writing lives too jejune, swelling them up with trifling accounts of the childhood and education, and the domestic, or private affairs of those persons of whom they write, in which the world is little concerned: by these they become so flat, that few care to read them; for certainly those transactions are
only

only fit to be delivered to posterity, that may carry with them some useful piece of knowledge to after-times.

I have now an argument before me, which will afford indeed only a short history, but will contain in it as great a character, as perhaps can be given of any in this age; since there are few instances of more knowledge, and greater virtues meeting in one person. I am upon one account (beside many more) unfit to undertake it, because I was not at all known to him, so I can say nothing from my own observation: but upon second thoughts, I do not know whether this may not qualify me to write more impartially, though perhaps more defectively; for the knowledge of extraordinary persons does most commonly bias those, who were much wrought on, by the tenderness of their friendship for them, to raise their stile a little too high when they write concerning them. I confess I knew him as much as the looking often upon him could amount to. The last year of his being in London, he came always on Sundays (when he could go abroad) to the chapel of the rolls, where I then preached. In my life I never saw so much gravity tempered with that sweetness, and set off with so much vivacity, as appeared in his looks and behaviour, which disposed me to a veneration for him, which I never had for any, with whom I was not acquainted. I was seeking an opportunity of being admitted to his conversation; but I understood, that between a great want of health, and a multiplicity of business, which his employment brought upon him, he was master of so little of his time, that I stood in doubt whether I might presume to rob him of any of it; and so he left the town, before I could resolve on desiring to be known to him.

My

My ignorance of the law of England, made me also unfit to write of a man, a great part of whose character, as to his learning, is to be taken from his skill in the common law, and his performance in that. But I shall leave that to those of the same robe: since if I engage much in it, I must needs commit many errors, writing of a subject that is foreign to me.

The occasion of my undertaking this, was given me first by the earnest desires of some that have great power over me; who having been much obliged by him, and holding his memory in high estimation, thought I might do it some right by writing his life. I was then engaged in the history of the reformation; so I promised that, as soon as that was over, I should make the best use I could of such informations and memorials as should be brought me.

This I have now performed in the best manner I could, and have brought into method all the parcels of his life, or the branches of his character, which I could either gather from the informations that were brought me, or from those that were familiarly acquainted with him, or from his writings. I have not applied any of the false colours, with which art, or some forced eloquence might furnish me, in writing concerning him; but have endeavoured to set him out in the same simplicity in which he lived. I have said little of his domestic concerns, since though in these he was a great example, yet it signifies nothing to the world, to know any particular exercises, that might be given to his patience; and therefore I shall draw a veil over all these, and shall avoid saying any thing of him, but what may afford the reader some profitable instruction. I am under no temptations of saying any thing, but what I am persuaded is exactly

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actly

actly true ; for where there is so much excellent truth to be told, it were an inexcusable fault to corrupt that, or prejudice the reader against it by the mixture of falshoods with it.

In short, as he was a great example while he lived, so I wish the setting him thus out to posterity, in his own true and native colours, may have its due influence on all persons ; but more particularly on those of that profession, whom it more immediately concerns, whether on the bench, or at the bar.

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 the bar.

SIR MATTHEW HALE.

MATTHEW HALE, was born at Alderly in Gloucestershire, the first of November, 1609. His grandfather was Robert Hale, an eminent clothier in Wotton-under-edge, in that county, where he and his ancestors had lived for many descents; and they had given several parcels of land for the use of the poor, which are enjoyed by them to this day. This Robert acquired an estate of ten thousand pounds, which he divided almost equally amongst his five sons; besides the portions he gave his daughters, from whom a numerous posterity has sprung. His second son was Robert Hale, a barrister of Lincoln's-Inn; he Married Joan, the daughter of Matthew Poyntz, of Alderly, esq. who was descended from that noble family of the Poyntzes of Acton. Of this marriage there was no other issue but this one son. His grandfather by his mother was his godfather, and gave him his own name at his baptism. His father was a man of that strictness of conscience, that he gave over the practise of the law, because he could not understand the reason of giving colour in pleadings, which as he thought was to tell a lie; and that, with some other things commonly practised, seemed to him contrary to that exactness of truth and justice which became a Christian, so that he withdrew himself from the Inns of Court to live on his estate in the country. Of this I was informed by an an-

To tell a lie.] See Life of sir Thomas More, Vol. II. p. 7.

cient

cient gentleman, that lived in a friendship with his son for fifty years, and he heard judge Jones, that was Mr. Hale's contemporary, declare this in the King's Bench. But as the care he had to save his soul, made him abandon a profession in which he might have raised his family much higher, so his charity to his poor neighbours, made him not only deal his alms largely among them while he lived, but at his death he left (out of his small estate which was 100l. a year) 20l. a year to the poor of Wotton, which his son confirmed to them with some addition, and with this regulation, that it should be distributed among such poor house-keepers, as did not receive the alms of the parish; for to give it to those, was only, as he used to say, to save so much money to the rich, who by law were bound to relieve the poor of the parish.

Thus he was descended rather from a good, than a noble family; and yet what was wanting in the insignificant titles of high birth, and noble blood, was more than made up in the true worth of his ancestors. But he was soon deprived of the happiness of his father's care and instruction; for as he lost his mother before he was three years old, so his father died before he was five; so early was he cast on the providence of God. But that unhappiness was in a great measure made up to him: for after some opposition made by Mr. Thomas Poyntz, his uncle by his mother, he was committed to the care of Anthony Kingscot, of Kingscot, esq. who was his next kinsman, after his uncles, by his mother.

Great care was taken of his education; and his guardian intended to breed him to be a divine; and being inclined to the way of those then called Puritans, put him to some schools that were taught by those of that party, and in the 17th year of his age,
sent

sent him to Magdalen Hall in Oxford, where Obadiah Sedgwick was his tutor. He was an extraordinary proficient at school, and for some time at Oxford. But the stage players coming thither, he was so much corrupted by seeing many plays, that he almost wholly forsook his studies. By this, he not only lost much time, but found that his head came to be thereby filled with such vain images of things, that they were at best unprofitable, if not hurtful to him; and being afterwards sensible of the mischief of this, he resolved upon his coming to London, (where he knew the opportunities of such sights would be more frequent and inviting) never to see a play again, to which he constantly adhered.

The corruption of a young man's mind in one particular, generally draws on a great many more after it; so he being now taken off from following his studies, and from the gravity of his deportment, that was formerly eminent in him, far beyond his years; set himself to many of the vanities incident to youth, but still preserved his purity, and a great probity of mind. He loved fine clothes, and delighted much in company: and being of a strong robust body, he was a great master at all those exercises that required much strength. He also learned to fence, and handle his weapons, in which he became so expert, that he worsted many of the masters of those arts: but as he was exercising of himself in them, an instance appeared, that shewed a good judgment, and gave some hopes of better things. One of his masters told him he could teach him no more, for he was now better at his own trade than himself was. This Mr. Hale looked on as flattery; so to make the master discover himself, he promised him the house he lived in, for he was his tenant, if he could hit him a blow on the head:

head: and bade him do his best, for he would be as good as his word: so after a little engagement, his master being really superior to him, hit him on the head, and he performed his promise; for he gave him the house freely; and was not unwilling at that rate to learn so early to distinguish flattery from plain and simple truth.

He now was so taken up with martial matters, that instead of going on in his design of being a scholar, or a divine, he resolved to be a soldier: and his tutor Sedgwick going into the Low Countries, chaplain to the renowned lord Vere, he resolved to go along with him, and to trail a pike in the prince of Orange's army; but a happy stop was put to this resolution, which might have proved so fatal to himself, and have deprived the age of the great example he gave, and the useful services he afterwards did his country. He was engaged in a suit of law with sir William Whitmore, who laid claim to some part of his estate; and his guardian being a man of a retired temper, and not made for business, he was forced to leave the University, after he had been three years in it, and go to London to solicit his own business. Being recommended to serjeant Glanvill for his counsellor, he observing in him a clear apprehension of things, and a solid judgment, and a great fitness for the study of the law, took pains upon him to persuade him to forsake his thoughts of being a soldier, and to apply himself to the study of the law; and this had so good an effect on him, that on the 8th of November, 1629, when he was past the 20th year of his age, he was admitted into Lincoln's Inn; and being then deeply sensible how much time he had lost, and that idle and vain things had overrun and almost corrupted his mind, he resolved to redeem the time he had lost, and followed

followed his studies with a diligence that could scarce be believed, if the signal effects of it did not gain it credit. He studied for many years at the rate of sixteen hours a day². He threw aside all fine clothes³, and betook himself to a plain fashion, which he continued to use in many points to his dying day.

But since the honour of reclaiming him from the idleness of his former course of life, is due to the memory of that eminent lawyer Serjeant Glanvil, and since my design in writing is to propose a pattern of heroick virtue to the world, I shall mention one passage of the Serjeant which ought never to be forgotten. His father had a fair estate, which he intended to settle on his elder brother; but he being a vicious young man, and there appearing no hopes of his recovery, he settled it on him, that was his second son. Upon his death, his eldest son finding that what he had before looked on, as the threatenings of an angry father, was now but too certain,

² *Sixteen hours.*] “My respected friend, Mr. Langton, has shewn me, in the hand-writing of his grandfather, a curious account of a conversation he had with Lord Chief Justice Hale, in which that great man tells him, ‘that for *two* years after he came to the inn of court, he studied sixteen hours a day: however (his lordship added) that by this intense application he almost brought himself to his grave, though he were of a strong constitution, and after reduced himself to eight hours: but that he would not advise any body to so much: that he thought six hours a day, with attention and constancy, was sufficient.” Boswell’s *Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson*, Vol. IV. p. 334.

³ *Fine clothes.*] “His habit” (says his friend Richard Baxter, referring to his later years) “was so coarse and plain, *that I, who am thought guilty of a culpable neglect therein*, have been bold to desire him to lay by some things which seemed too homely.” Preface to a Letter to Mr. Edward Stephens. See *Moral, &c. Works of Sir Mat. Hale*. Vol. I. p. 89. A. D. 1805. 8vo.

became melancholy, and that by degrees wrought so great a change on him, that what his father could not prevail in while he lived, was now effected by the severity of his last will; so that it was now too late for him to change in hopes of any estate that was gone from him. But his brother observing the reality of the change, resolved within himself what to do. So he called him, with many of his friends together to a feast, and after other dishes had been served up to the dinner, he ordered one that was covered to be set before his brother, and desired him to uncover it; which he doing, the company was surprized to find it full of writings. So he told them that he was now to do, what he was sure his father would have done, if he had lived to see that happy change, which they now all saw in his brother: and therefore he freely restored to him the whole estate. This is so great an instance of a generous and just disposition, that I hope the reader will easily pardon this digression; and that the rather, since that worthy serjeant was so instrumental in the happy chance that followed in the course of Mr. Hale's life.

Yet he did not at first break off from keeping too much company with some vain people, till a sad accident drove him from it. For he with some other young students, being invited to be merry out of town, one of the company called for so much wine, that notwithstanding all that Mr. Hale could do to prevent it, he went on in his excess till he fell down as dead before them, so that all that were present, were not a little affrighted at it, who did what they could to bring him to himself again: this did particularly affect Mr. Hale, who thereupon went into another room, and shutting the door, fell on his knees, and prayed earnestly to God, both for his friend, that he might be restored to

to life again; and that himself might be forgiven for giving such countenance to so much excess: and he vowed to God, that he would never again keep company in that manner, nor drink a health while he lived. His friend recovered, and he most religiously observed his vow, till his dying day. And though he was afterwards pressed to drink healths, particularly the King's, which was set up by too many as a distinguishing mark of loyalty, and drew many into great excess after his majesty's happy restoration; but he would never dispense with his vow, though he was sometimes roughly treated for this, which some hot and indiscreet men called obstinacy.

This wrought an entire change on him. Now he forsook all vain company, and divided himself between the duties of religion, and the studies of his profession. In the former he was so regular, that for six and thirty years time, he never once failed going to church on the Lord's day⁴. This
observa-

⁴ *On the Lord's day.*] "He told me once, how God brought him to a fixed honour and observation of the Lord's day: that when he was young, being in the West, the sickness or death of some relation at London, made some matter of estate to become his concernment, which required his hastening to London, from the West, and he was commanded to travel on the Lord's day: but I cannot well remember, how many cross accidents befell him in his journey: one horse fell lame, another died, and much more; which struck him with such a sense of divine rebuke as he never forgot." Richard Baxter's Letter to Mr. Stephens, p. 104. *Moral, &c. Works of Sir Mat. Hale*, Vol. I.

The Judge has imparted the following important and consolatory testimony, respecting his own experience of the interposition of divine agency. "This secret direction of Almighty God is principally seen in matters relating to the good of the soul; yet it may also be found in the concerns of this life; which a good man, that fears God, and begs his direction, shall very often, if not at all times, find.

observation he made when an ague first interrupted that constant course, and he reflected on it, as an acknowledgment of God's great goodness to him, in so long a continuance of his health.

He took a strict account of his time, of which the reader will best judge, by the scheme he drew for a diary, which I shall insert copied from the original, but I am not certain when he made it. It is set down in the same simplicity in which he writ it for his own private use.

MORNING.

- I. To lift up the heart to God in thankfulness for renewing my life.
- II. To renew my covenant with God in Christ. 1. By renewed acts of faith receiving Christ, and rejoicing in the height of that relation. 2. Resolution of being one of his people doing him allegiance.
- III. Adoration and prayer.
- IV. Setting a watch over my own infirmities and passions, over the snares laid in our way. *Perimus licitis.*

DAY EMPLOYMENT.

There must be in employment, two kinds :

- I. Our ordinary calling, to serve God in it. It is a service to Christ though never so mean. Colos. 3. Here faithfulness, diligence, cheerfulness,

" I can call my own experience to witness, that even in the external actions of my whole life, I was never disappointed of the best guidance and direction, when I have, in humility and sincerity, implored the secret direction and guidance of the divine wisdom."

Not

Not to over lay myself with more business than I can bear.

II. Our spiritual employments. Mingle somewhat of God's immediate service in each day.

REFRESHMENTS.

I. Meat and drink, moderation seasoned with somewhat of God.

II. Recreations. 1. Not our business. 2. Suitable. No games, if given to covetousness or passion.

IF ALONE.

I. Beware of wandering vain lustful thoughts; fly from thyself rather than entertain these.

II. Let thy solitary thoughts be profitable; view the evidences of thy salvation, the state of thy soul, the coming of Christ, thy own mortality; it will make thee humble and watchful.

COMPANY.

Do good to them. Use God's name reverently. Beware of leaving an ill impression of ill example. Receive good from them, if more knowing.

EVENING.

Cast up the accompts of the day. If aught amiss, beg pardon. Gather resolution of more vigilance. If well, bless the mercy and grace of God that hath supported thee.

These notes have an imperfection in the wording of them, which shews they were only intended for his

his privacies. No wonder a man who set such rules to himself, became quickly very eminent and remarkable.

Noy, the attorney-general, being then one of the greatest men of the profession, took early notice of him, and called often for him, and directed him in his study, and grew to have such friendship for him, that he came to be called young Noy.

He passing from the extreme of vanity in his apparel, to that of neglecting himself too much, was once taken when there was a press for the king's service, as a fit person for it; for he was a strong and well built man: but some that knew him coming by, and giving notice who he was, the press-men let him go. This made him return to more decency in his clothes, but never to any superfluity or vanity in them.

Once as he was buying some cloth for a new suit, the draper, with whom he differed about the price, told him he should have it for nothing, if he would promise him an hundred pound when he came to be lord chief justice of England; to which he answered, that he could not with a good conscience wear any man's cloth, unless he payed for it; so he satisfied the draper and carried away the cloth. Yet the same draper lived to see him advanced to that same dignity.

While he was thus improving himself in the study of the law, he not only kept the hours of the Hall constantly in term time, but seldom put himself out of commons in vacation time, and continued then to follow his studies with an unwearied diligence; and not being satisfied with the books writ about it, or to take things upon trust, was very diligent in searching all records. Then did he make divers collections out of the books he had read,
and

and mixing them with his own observations, digested them into a common place book ; which he did with so much industry and judgment, that an eminent judge of the King's Bench, borrowed it of him when he was lord chief baron. He unwillingly lent it, because it had been writ by him before he was called to the bar, and had never been thoroughly revised by him since that time, only what alterations had been made in the law by subsequent statutes, and judgments, were added by him as they had happened : but the judge having perused it said, that though it was composed by him so early, he did not think any lawyer in England could do it better, except he himself would again set about it.

He was soon found out by that great and learned antiquary Mr. Selden, who though much superior to him in years, yet came to have such a liking of him, and of Mr. Vaughan, who was afterwards lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, that as he continued in a close friendship with them while he lived, so he left them at his death, two of his four executors.

It was this acquaintance that first set Mr. Hale on a more enlarged pursuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profession ; but becoming as great a master in it, as ever any was, very soon, he who could never let any of his time go away unprofitably, found leisure to attain to as great a variety of knowledge, in as comprehensive a manner as most men have done in any age.

He set himself much to the study of the Roman law, and though he liked the way of judicature in England by juries, much better than that of the civil law, where so much was trusted to the judge ; yet he often said, that the true grounds and reasons of law were so well delivered in the digests, that a man could never understand law as a science

ence so well as by seeking it there; and therefore lamented much that it was so little studied in England.

He looked on readiness in arithmetic, as a thing which might be useful to him in his own employment, and acquired it to such a degree, that he would often on the sudden, and afterwards on the bench, resolve very hard questions, which had puzzled the best accomptants about town. He rested not here, but studied the algebra both *speciosa* and *numerosa*, and went through all the other mathematical sciences, and made a great collection of very excellent instruments, sparing no cost to have them as exact, as art could make them. He was also very conversant in philosophical learning, and in all the curious experiments, and rare discoveries of this age: and had the new books written on those subjects sent from all parts, which he both read and examined so critically, that if the principles and hypotheses which he took first up, did any way prepossess him, yet those who have differed most from him, have acknowledged, that in what he has writ concerning the Torricellian experiment, and of the rarefaction and condensation of the air, he shews as great an exactness, and as much subtilty in the reasoning he builds on them, as these principles to which he adhered could bear. But indeed it will seem scarce credible, that a man so much employed, and of so severe a temper of mind, could find leisure to read, observe and write so much of these subjects as he did. He called them his diversions; for he often said, when he was weary with the study of the law, or divinity, he used to recreate himself with philosophy or the mathematicks. To these he added great skill in physic, anatomy and chirurgery: and he used to say, “no man could be absolutely a master in any pro-

fession, without having some skill in other sciences;" for besides the satisfaction he had in the knowledge of these things, he made use of them often in his employments. In some examinations he would put such questions to physicians or surgeons, that they have professed, the College of Physicians could not do it more exactly; by which he discovered great judgment, as well as much knowledge in these things. And in his sickness he used to argue with his doctors about his distempers, and the methods they took with them, like one of their own profession; which one of them told me he understood, as far as speculation without practice could carry him.

To this he added great searches into ancient history, and particularly into the roughest and least delightful part of it, chronology. He was well acquainted with the ancient Greek philosophers; but want of occasion to use it, wore out his knowledge of the Greek tongue; and though he never studied the Hebrew tongue, yet by his great conversation with Selden, he understood the most curious things in the rabbinical learning.

But above all these he seemed to have made the study of divinity the chief of all others; to which he not only directed every thing else, but also arrived at that pitch in it, that those who have read what he has written on these subjects, will think they must have had most of his time and thoughts.

It may seem extravagant, and almost incredible, that one man, in no great compass of years, should have acquired such a variety of knowledge; and that in sciences, that require much leisure and application. But as his parts were quick, and his apprehensions lively, his memory great, and his judgments strong; so his industry was almost indefatigable. He rose always betimes in the morning;

ing; was never idle; scarce ever held any discourse about news, except with some few in whom he confided entirely. He entered into no correspondence by letters, except about necessary business, or matters of learning, and spent very little time in eating or drinking; for as he never went to public feasts, so he gave no entertainments but to the poor; for he followed our Saviour's directions (of feasting none but these) literally: and in eating and drinking, he observed not only great plainness and moderation, but lived so philosophically, that he always ended his meal with an appetite; so that he lost little time at it, (that being the only portion which he grudged himself) and was disposed to any exercise of his mind to which he thought fit to apply himself, immediately after he had dined. By these means he gained much time, that is otherwise unprofitably wasted.

He had also an admirable equality in the temper of his mind, which disposed him for whatever studies he thought fit to turn himself to; and some very uneasy things which he lay under for many years, did rather engage him to, than distract him from his studies.

When he was called to the bar, and began to make a figure in the world, the late unhappy wars broke out, in which it was no easy thing for a man to preserve his integrity, and to live securely, free from great danger and trouble. He had read the life of Pomponius Atticus, writ by Nepos; and having observed, that he had passed through a time of as much distraction, as ever was in any age or state, from the wars of Marius and Scylla, to the beginnings of Augustus's reign, without the least blemish on his reputation, and free from any considerable danger, being held in great esteem by all parties, and courted and favoured by them; he set
him

him as a pattern to himself: and observing, that besides those virtues which are necessary to all men, and at all times, there were two things that chiefly preserved Atticus; the one was his engaging in no faction, and meddling in no public business; the other was his constant favouring and relieving those that were lowest, which was ascribed by such as prevailed to the generosity of his temper, and procured him much kindness from those on whom he had exercised his bounty, when it came to their turn to govern: he resolved to guide himself by those rules as much as was possible for him to do.

He not only avoided all public employment, but the very talking of news, and was always both favourable and charitable to those who were depressed, and was sure never to provoke any in particular, by censuring or reflecting on their actions; for many that have conversed much with him, have told me they never heard him once speak ill of any person.

He was employed in his practice by all the king's party. He was assigned council to the earl of Strafford, and archbishop Laud, and afterwards to the blessed king himself, when brought to the infamous pageantry of a mock trial, and offered to plead for him with all the courage that so glorious a cause ought to have inspired him with; but was not suffered to appear, because the king refusing, as he had good reason, to submit to the court, it was pretended none could be admitted to speak for him. He was also council for the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and the lord Capel. His plea for the former of these, I have published in the memoirs of that duke's life. Afterwards also being council for the lord Craven, he pleaded with that force of argument, that the then attorney-general

neral threatened him for appearing against the government; to whom he answered, "he was pleading in defence of those laws, which they declared they would maintain and preserve; and he was doing his duty to his client, so that he was not to be daunted with threatenings."

Upon all these occasions he had discharged himself with so much learning, fidelity, and courage, that he came to be generally employed for all that party. Nor was he satisfied to appear for their just defence in the way of his profession, but he also relieved them often in their necessities; which he did in a way that was no less prudent than charitable, considering the dangers of that time: for he did often deposit considerable sums in the hands of a worthy gentleman of the king's party, who knew their necessities well, and was to distribute his charity according to his own discretion, without either letting them know from whence it came, or giving himself any account to whom he had given it.

Cromwell seeing him possessed of so much practice, and he being one of the eminentest men of the law, who was not at all afraid of doing his duty in those critical times; resolved to take him off from it, and raise him to the bench.

Mr. Hale saw well enough the snare laid for him; and though he did not much consider the prejudice it would be to himself, to exchange the easy and safer profits he had by his practice, for a judge's place in the common-pleas, which he was required to accept of, yet he did deliberate more on the lawfulness of taking a commission from usurpers; but having considered well of this, he came to be of opinion, "that it being absolutely necessary, to have justice and property kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from
usurpers,

usurpers, if he made no declaration of his acknowledging their authority;" which he never did. He was much urged to accept of it by some eminent men of his own profession, who were of the king's party; as sir Orlando Bridgeman, and sir Geoffery Palmer; and was also satisfied concerning the lawfulness of it, by the resolution of some famous divines, in particular Dr. Sheldon, and Dr. Henchman, who were afterwards promoted to the sees of Canterbury and London.

To these were added the importunities of all his friends, who thought that in a time of so much danger and oppression, it might be no small security to the nation, to have a man of his integrity and abilities on the bench. And the usurpers themselves held him in that estimation, that they were glad to have him give a countenance to their courts, and by promoting one that was known to have different principles from them, affected the reputation of honouring and trusting men of eminent virtues, of what persuasion soever they might be, in relation to public matters.

But he had greater scruples concerning the proceeding against felons, and putting offenders to death by that commission, since he thought, the sword of justice belonging only by right to the lawful prince, it seemed not warrantable to proceed to a capital sentence by an authority derived from usurpers; yet at first he made distinction between common and ordinary felonies, and offences against the state: for the last he would never meddle in them; for he thought these might be often legal and warrantable actions, and that the putting men to death on that account was murder; but for the ordinary felonies, he at first was of opinion, that it was as necessary, even in times of usurpation, to execute justice in those cases, as in matters of property.

perty. But after the king was murdered, he laid by all his collections of the pleas of the crown; and that they might not fall into ill hands, he hid them behind the wainscoting of his study, for he said "there was no more occasion to use them, till the king should be again restored to his right;" and so, upon his majesty's restoration, he took them out, and went on in his design to perfect that great work.

Yet for some time, after he was made a judge, when he went the circuit, he did sit on the crown-side, and judged criminals. But having considered farther of it, he came to think that it was at least better not to do it; and so after the second or third circuit, he refused to sit any more on the crown-side, and told plainly the reason; for in matters of blood, he was always to choose the safer side. And indeed he had so carried himself in some trials, that they were not unwilling he should withdraw from meddling farther in them; of which I shall give some instances.

Not long after he was made a judge, which was in the year 1653, when he went the circuit, a trial was brought before him at Lincoln, concerning the murder of one of the townsmen, who had been of the king's party, and was killed by a soldier of the garrison there. He was in the fields with a fowling-piece on his shoulder; which the soldier seeing, he came to him, and said, "it was contrary to an order which the protector had made, *that none who had been of the king's party should carry arms;*" and so he would have forced it from him. But as the other did not regard the order, so being stronger than the soldier, he threw him down, and having beat him, he left him. The soldier went into the town, and told one of his fellow-soldiers how he had been used, and got him to go with him,
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and lie in wait for the man, that he might be revenged on him. They both watched his coming to town, and one of them went to him to demand his gun; which he refusing, the soldier struck at him; and as they were struggling, the other came behind, and ran his sword into his body; of which he presently died. It was in the time of the assizes, so they were both tried. Against the one there was no evidence of forethought felony, so he was only found guilty of manslaughter, and burnt on the hand; but the other was found guilty of murder. And though colonel Whaley, that commanded the garrison, came into the court, and urged, "that the man was killed only for disobeying the protector's order," and "that the soldier was but doing his duty;" yet the judge regarded both his reasons and threatenings very little; and therefore he not only gave sentence against him, but ordered the execution to be so suddenly done, that it might not be possible to procure a reprieve; which he believed would have been obtained, if there had been time enough granted for it.

Another occasion was given him, of shewing both his justice and courage, when he was in another circuit. He understood that the protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a trial, in which he was more than ordinarily concerned. Upon this information, he examined the sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it, for he said he referred all such things to the under-sheriff; and having next asked the under-sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell: upon which he shewed the statute, that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff, or his lawful officer; and this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause: upon which the protector

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was highly displeased with him, and at his return from the circuit, he told him in anger, "he was not fit to be a judge;" to which all the answer he made was, "that it was very true."

Another thing met him in the circuit, upon which he resolved to have proceeded severely. Some anabaptists had rushed into a church, and had disturbed a congregation, while they were receiving the sacrament, not without some violence. At this he was highly offended, for he said "it was intolerable for men, who pretended so highly to liberty of conscience, to go and disturb others; especially those who had the encouragement of the law on their side." But these were so supported by some great magistrates and officers, that a stop was put to his proceedings; upon which he declared, he would "meddle no more with the trials on the crown-side."

When Penruddock's trial was brought on, there was a special messenger sent to him, requiring him to assist at it. It was in vacation time, and he was at his country-house at Alderly. He plainly refused to go, and said, "the four terms, and two circuits, were enough, and the little interval that was between, was little enough for their private affairs;" and so he excused himself. He thought it was not necessary to speak more clearly; but if he had been urged to it, he would not have been afraid of doing it.

He was at that time chosen a parliament-man, (for there being then no house of lords, judges might have been chosen to sit in the house of commons) and he went to it, on design to obstruct the mad and wicked projects then on foot, by two parties, that had very different principles and ends.

On the one hand, some that were perhaps more sincere, yet were really brain-sick, designed they knew

knew not what, being resolved to pull down a standing ministry, the law and property of England, and all the ancient rules of this government, and set up in its room an indigested enthusiastical scheme, which they called the kingdom of Christ, or of his saints; many of them being really in expectation, that one day or another Christ would come down, and sit among them, and at least they thought to begin the glorious thousand years mentioned in the Revelation.

Others at the same time, taking advantages from the fears and apprehensions, that all the sober men of the nation were in, lest they should fall under the tyranny of a distracted sort of people, who to all their other ill principles, added great cruelty, which they had copied from those at Munster in the former age, intended to improve that opportunity to raise their own fortunes and families. Amidst these, judge Hale steered a middle course; for as he would engage for neither side, so he, with a great many more worthy men, came to parliaments, more out of a design to hinder mischief, than to do much good; wisely foreseeing, that the inclinations for the royal family were daily growing so much, that in time the disorders then in agitation, would ferment to that happy resolution, in which they determined in May, 1660: and therefore all that could be then done, was to oppose the ill designs of both parties, the enthusiasts as well as the usurpers. Among the other extravagant motions made in this parliament, one was, to destroy all the records in the tower, and to settle the nation on a new foundation: so he took this province to himself, to shew the madness of this proposition, the injustice of it, and the mischiefs that would follow on it; and did it with such clearness, and strength of reason, as not only satisfied all

sober persons (for it may be supposed that was soon done) but stopped even the mouths of the frantic people themselves.

Thus he continued administering justice till the protector died: but then he both refused the mournings that were sent to him and his servants for the funeral, and likewise to accept of the new commission that was offered him by Richard; and when the rest of the judges urged it upon him, and employed others to press him to accept of it, he rejected all their importunities, and said, "He could act no longer under such authority."

He lived a private man till the parliament met that called home the king, to which he was returned knight of the shire from the county of Gloucester. It appeared at that time how much he was beloved and esteemed in his neighbourhood; for though another, who stood in competition with him, had spent near a thousand pounds to procure voices, a great sum to be employed that way in those days, and he had been at no cost; and was so far from soliciting it, that he had stood out long against those who pressed him to appear, and he did not promise to appear till three days before the election, yet he was preferred. He was brought thither almost by violence, by the lord (now earl of) Berkeley, who bore all the charge of the entertainments on the day of his election, which was considerable, and had engaged all his friends and interest for him. And whereas by the writ, the knight of a shire must be *miles gladio cinctus*, and he had no sword, that noble lord girt him with his own sword during the election; but he was soon weary of it, for the embroidery of the belt did not suite well with the plainness of his clothes: and indeed the election did not hold long; for as soon as ever he came into the field, he was chosen by much the greater

greater number, though the poll continued for three or four days.

In that parliament he bore his share in the happy period then put to the confusions that threatened the utter ruin of the nation, which, contrary to the expectations of the most sanguine, settled in so serene and quiet a manner, that those who had formerly built so much on their success, calling it an answer from heaven to their solemn appeals to the providence of God, were now not a little confounded, to see all this turned against themselves, in an instance much more extraordinary than any of those were, upon which they had built so much. His great prudence and excellent temper led him to think, that the sooner an act of indemnity were passed, and the fuller it were of graces and favours, it would sooner settle the nation, and quiet the minds of the people; and therefore he applied himself with a particular care to the framing and carrying it on: in which it was visible he had no concern of his own, but merely his love of the public that set him on to it.

Soon after this, when the courts in Westminster Hall came to be settled, he was made lord chief baron; and when the earl of Clarendon (then lord chancellor) delivered him his commission, in the speech he made, according to the custom on such occasions, he expressed his esteem of him in a very singular manner, telling him, among other things, "That if the king could have found out an honester and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it;" and "that he had therefore preferred him, because he knew none that deserved it so well." It is ordinary for persons so promoted to be knighted, but he desired to avoid having that honour done him, and therefore for a considerable time declined all opportunities of

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waiting

waiting on the king; which the lord chancellor observing, sent for him upon business one day, when the king was at his house, and told his majesty there was his modest chief baron; upon which he was unexpectedly knighted.

He continued eleven years in that place, managing the court, and all proceedings in it, with singular justice. It was observed by the whole nation, how much he raised the reputation and practice of it: and those who held places, and offices in it, can all declare, not only the impartiality of his justice, for that is but a common virtue, but his generosity, his vast diligence, and his great exactness in trials. This gave occasion to the only complaint that ever was made of him, that he did not dispatch matters quick enough; but the great care he used, to put suits to a final end, as it made him slower in deciding them; so it had this good effect, that causes tried before him, were seldom, if ever, tried again.

Nor did his administration of justice lie only in that court. He was one of the principal judges that sat in Clifford's-Inn, about settling the differences between landlord and tenant, after the dreadful fire of London. He being the first that offered his service to the city, for accommodating all the differences that might have arisen about the rebuilding of it, in which he behaved himself to the satisfaction of all persons concerned; so that the sudden and quiet building of the city, which is justly to be reckoned one of the wonders of the age, is in no small measure due to the great care, which he and sir Orlando Bridgeman, (then lord chief justice of the common-pleas, afterwards lord keeper of the great seal of England) used, and to the judgment they shewed in that affair: since without the rules then laid down, there might have
otherwise

otherwise followed such an endless train of vexatious suits, as might have been little less chargeable than the fire itself had been. But without detracting from the labours of the other judges, it must be acknowledged that he was the most instrumental in that great work; for he first, by way of scheme, contrived the rules, upon which he and the rest proceeded afterwards; in which his readiness at arithmetic, and his skill in architecture, were of great use to him.

But it will not seem strange that a judge behaved himself as he did, who at the entry into his employment, set such excellent rules to himself, which will appear in the following paper, copied from the original under his own hand.

“ Things necessary to be continually had in remembrance.

I. That in the administration of justice, I am entrusted for God, the king and country; and therefore,

II. That it be done, 1. Uprightly, 2. Deliberately, 3. Resolutely.

III. That I rest not upon my own understanding or strength, but implore and rest upon the direction and strength of God.

IV. That in the execution of justice, I carefully lay aside my own passions, and not give way to them, however provoked.

V. That I be wholly intent upon the business I am about, remitting all other cares and thoughts, as unseasonable, and interruptions.

VI. That I suffer not myself to be prepossessed with any judgment at all, till the whole business and both parties be heard.

VII. That

VII. That I never engage myself in the beginning of any cause, but reserve myself unprejudiced till the whole be heard.

VIII. That in business capital, though my nature prompt me to pity; yet to consider, that there is also a pity due to the country.

IX. That I be not too rigid in matters purely conscientious, where all the harm is diversity of judgment.

X. That I be not biassed with compassion to the poor, or favour to the rich, in point of justice.

XI. That popular, or court-applause, or distaste, have no influence into any thing I do in point of distribution of justice.

XII. Not to be solicitous what men will say or think, so long as I keep myself exactly according to the rules of justice.

XIII. If in criminals it be a measuring cast, to incline to mercy and acquittal.

XIV. In criminals that consist merely in words, when no more harm ensues, moderation is no injustice.

XV. In criminals of blood, if the fact be evident, severity is justice.

XVI. To abhor all private solicitations, of what kind soever, and by whom soever, in matters depending.

XVII. To charge my servants, 1. Not to interpose in any business whatsoever. 2. Not to take more than their known fees. 3. Not to give any undue precedence to causes. 4. Not to recommend counsel.

XVIII. To be short and sparing at meals, that I may be the fitter for business."

He would never receive private addresses or commendations from the greatest persons in any matter,

matter, in which justice was concerned. One of the first peers of England went once to his chamber, and told him, "That having a suit in law to be tried before him, he was then to acquaint him with it, that he might the better understand it, when it should come to be heard in court." Upon which the lord chief baron interrupted him, and said, "He did not deal fairly to come to his chamber about such affairs, for he never received any information of causes but in open court, where both parties were to be heard alike;" so he would not suffer him to go on. Whereupon his grace (for he was a duke) went away not a little dissatisfied, and complained of it to the king, as a rudeness that was not to be endured. But his majesty bid him content himself that he was no worse used, and said, he verily believed he would have used himself no better, if he had gone to solicit him in any of his own causes.

Another passage fell out in one of his circuits, which was somewhat censured as an affectation of an unreasonable strictness; but it flowed from his exactness to the rules he had set himself. A gentleman had sent him a buck for his table, that had a trial at the assizes; so when he heard his name, he asked if he was not the same person that had sent him venison? and finding he was the same, he told him, he could not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid him for his buck: to which the gentleman answered, that he never sold his venison, and that he had done nothing to him, which he did not do to every judge that had gone that circuit, which was confirmed by several gentlemen then present: but all would not do, for the lord chief baron had learned from Solomon, that *a gift perverteth the ways of judgment*; and therefore he
would

would not suffer the trial to go on, till he had paid for the present; upon which the gentleman withdrew the record. And at Salisbury, the dean and chapter having, according to the custom, presented him with six sugar-loaves in his circuit, he made his servants pay for the sugar before he would try their cause.

It was not so easy for him to throw off the importunities of the poor, for whom his compassion wrought more powerfully than his regard to wealth and greatness; yet when justice was concerned, even that did not turn him out of the way. There was one that had been put out of a place for some ill behaviour, who urged the lord chief baron to set his hand to a certificate, to restore him to it, or provide him with another: but he told him plainly, his fault was such, that he could not do it; the other pressed him vehemently, and fell down on his knees, and begged it of him with many tears; but finding that could not prevail, he said, he should be utterly ruined if he did it not; and he should curse him for it every day. But that having no effect, then he fell out into all the reproachful words, that passion and despair could inspire him with; to which all the answer the Lord chief baron made, was, that he could very well bear all his reproaches; but he could not for all that set his hand to his certificate. He saw he was poor, so he gave him a large charity, and sent him away.

But now he was to go on after his pattern, Pomponius Atticus, still to favour and relieve them that were lowest. So, besides great charities to the nonconformists, who were then, as he thought, too hardly used; he took great care to cover them all he could, from the severities some designed against
against

against them, and discouraged ⁵ those who were inclined to stretch the laws too much against them. He lamented the differences that were raised in this church very much, and according to the impartiality of his justice, he blamed some things on both sides, which I shall set down with the same freedom that he spake them. He thought many of the nonconformists had merited highly ⁶ in the business of the king's restoration, and at least deserved that the terms of conformity should not have been made stricter, than they were before the war. There was not then that dreadful prospect of popery, that has appeared since. But that which afflicted him most, was, that he saw the heats and contentions which followed upon those different parties and interests, did take people off from the indispensable things of religion, and slackened the zeal of (other ways) good men for the substance of it, so much being spent about external and indifferent

⁵ *And discouraged.*] "When I went out of the house," (says Richard Baxter, in the Letter to Mr. Stephens, above referred to) "in which he succeeded me, I went into a greater over against the church door. The town having great need of help for their souls, I preached, between the public sermons, in my house, taking the people with me to the church (to common prayer and sermon) morning and evening. The judge told me, that he thought my course did the church much service; and would carry it so respectfully to me at my door, that all the people might perceive his approbation. But Dr. Reeves" (the rector of the parish, which was Acton) "could not bear it, but complained against me: and the bishop of London caused one Mr. Rosse, of Brainford, and Mr. Philips, two justices of the peace, to send their warrants to apprehend me. I told the judge of the warrant, but asked him no counsel, nor he gave me none; *but with tears showed his sorrow (the only time that ever I saw him weep).* So I was sent to the common gaol for six months, by these two justices." *Moral, &c. Works of Sir Mat. Hale, Vol. 1. p. 105.*

⁶ *Merited highly.*] See Baxter's *Narrative of his Life and Times*, part i. p. 105, 214, &c.

things.

things. It also gave advantages to atheists, to treat the most sacred points of our holy faith, as ridiculous, when they saw the professors of it contend so fiercely, and with such bitterness, about lesser matters. He was much offended at all those books ⁷ that were written, to expose the contrary sect to the scorn and contempt of the age, in a wanton and petulant style. He thought such writers wounded the christian religion, through the sides of those who differed from them; while a sort of lewd people, who having assumed to themselves the title of the wits (though but a very few of them have a right to it) took up from both hands, what they had said, to make one another shew ridiculous, and from thence persuaded the world to laugh at both, and at all religion for their sakes. And therefore he often wished there might be some law, to make all scurrillity or bitterness in disputes about religion punishable. But as he lamented the proceedings too rigorously against the nonconformists, so he declared himself always of the side of the Church of England; and said those of the separation were good men, but they had narrow souls, who would break the peace of the Church, about such inconsiderable matters, as the points in difference were.

He scarce ever meddled in state intrigues, yet upon a proposition that was set on foot by the lord keeper Bridgeman, for a comprehension ⁸ of the

⁷ *All those books.*] “He had a great distaste” (Baxter assures us) “of the books called *A Friendly Debate*, &c.” (the work of Patrick, afterwards bishop of Ely) “and *Ecclesiastical Polity*,” (written by Mr. Samuel Parker, then chaplain to Archbishop Sheldon, and who afterwards became a papist, and was made bishop of Oxford, &c. by James II.). Letter to Mr. Stephens, in Hale’s *Moral, &c. Works*, Vol. I. p. 111.

⁸ *For a comprehension.*] Compare Baxter’s *Life and Times*, Part 2, p. 433. &c. Part 3. p. 24, &c. p. 100. p. 157, &c. Birch’s *Life of Tillotson*, p. 42, &c. 52, &c. and 193, &c.

more moderate dissenters, and a limited indulgence towards such as could not be brought within the comprehension, he dispensed with his maxim, of avoiding to engage in matters of state. There were several meetings upon that occasion. The divine of the Church of England, that appeared most considerably for it, was Dr. Wilkins, afterwards promoted to the bishoprick of Chester, a man of as great a mind, as true a judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as good a soul, as any I ever knew. He being determined as well by his excellent temper, as by his foresight and prudence, by which he early perceived the great prejudices that religion received, and the vast dangers the reformation was like to fall under by those divisions; set about that project with the magnanimity that was indeed peculiar to himself; for though he was much censured by many of his own side, and seconded by very few, yet he pushed it as far as he could. After several conferences with two of the eminentest of the presbyterian divines, heads were agreed on, some abatements were to be made, and explanations were to be accepted of. The particulars of that project being thus concerted, they were brought to the lord chief baron, who put them in form of a bill, to be presented to the next sessions of parliament.

But two parties appeared vigorously against this design; the one was of some zealous clergymen, who thought it below the dignity of the Church to alter laws, and change settlements, for the sake of some whom they esteemed schismaticks. They also believed, it was better to keep them out of the church, than bring them into it, since a faction upon that would arise in the church, which they thought might be more dangerous than the schism itself was. Besides they said, if some things were
now

now to be changed in compliance with the humour of a party; as soon as that was done, another party might demand other concessions, and there might be as good reasons invented for these as for those. Many such concessions might also shake those of our own communion, and tempt them to forsake us, and go over to the Church of Rome, pretending that we changed so often, that they were thereby inclined to be of a church, that was constant and true to herself. These were the reasons brought, and chiefly insisted on against all comprehension; and they wrought upon the greater part of the House of Commons, so that they passed a vote against the receiving of any bill for that effect.

There were others that opposed it upon very different ends: they designed to shelter the papists from the execution of the law, and saw clearly that nothing could bring in popery so well as a toleration. But to tolerate popery bare-faced, would have startled the nation too much; so it was necessary to hinder all the propositions for union, since the keeping up the differences was the best colour they could find, for getting the toleration to pass, only as a slackening the laws against dissenters, whose numbers and wealth made it adviseable to have some regard to them; and under this pretence popery might have crept in more covered, and less regarded. So these councils being more acceptable to some concealed papists then in great power, as has since appeared but too evidently, the whole project for comprehension was let fall, and those who had set it on foot, came to be looked on with an ill eye, as secret favourers of the dissenters, underminers of the Church, and every thing else that jealousy and distaste could cast on them.

But

But upon this occasion, the lord chief baron, and Dr. Wilkins, came to contract a firm and familiar friendship; and the lord chief baron having much business, and little time to spare, did to enjoy the other the more, what he had scarce ever done before, he went sometimes to dine with him. And though he lived in great friendship with some other eminent clergymen, as Dr. Ward, bishop of Salisbury; Dr. Barlow, bishop of Lincoln; Dr. Barrow, late master of Trinity College; Dr. Tillotson, dean of Canterbury; and Dr. Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's, (men so well known, and so much esteemed, that as it was no wonder the lord chief baron valued their conversation highly, so those of them that are yet alive will think it no lessening of the character they are so deservedly in, that they are reckoned among judge Hale's friends) yet there was an intimacy and freedom in his converse with bishop Wilkins, that was singular to him alone. He had, during the late wars, lived in a long and entire friendship with the apostolical primate of Ireland, bishop Usher: their curious searches into antiquity, and the sympathy of both their tempers led them to a great agreement almost in every thing. He held also great conversation with Mr. Baxter, who was his neighbour at Acton, on whom he looked as a person of great devotion and piety, and of a very subtile and quick apprehension: their conversation lay most in metaphysical and abstracted ideas and schemes.

He looked with great sorrow on the impiety and atheism of the age, and so he set himself to oppose it, not only by the shining example of his own life, but by engaging in a cause, that indeed could hardly fall into better hands: and as he could not find a subject more worthy of himself, so there were few in the age that understood it so well, and could

could manage it more skilfully. The occasion that first led him to write about it, was this. He was a strict observer of the Lord's day, in which, besides his constancy in the public worship of God, he used to call all his family together, and repeat to them the heads of the sermons, with some additions of his own, which he fitted for their capacities and circumstances; and that being done, he had a custom of shutting himself up for two or three hours, which he either spent in his secret devotions, or on such profitable meditations as did then occur to his thoughts: he writ them with the same simplicity that he formed them in his mind, without any art, or so much as a thought to let them be published: he never corrected them, but laid them by, when he had finished them, having intended only to fix and preserve his own reflections in them; so that he used no sort of care to polish them, or make the first draught perfecter than when they fell from his pen. These fell into the hands of a worthy person, and he judging, as well he might, that the communicating them to the world, might be a publick service, printed two volumes of them in octavo a little before the author's death, containing his

CONTEMPLATIONS.

- I. Of our latter end.
- II. Of wisdom, and the fear of God.
- III. Of the knowledge of Christ crucified.
- IV. The victory of faith over the world.
- V. Of humility.
- VI. Jacob's vow.
- VII. Of contentation.
- VIII. Of afflictions.

IX. A

- IX. A good method to entertain unstable and troublesome times.
- X. Changes and troubles: a poem.
- XI. Of the redemption of time.
- XII. The great audit.
- XIII. Directions touching keeping the Lord's day: in a letter to his children.
- XIV. Poems written upon Christmas day.

In the Second Volume.

- I. An enquiry touching happiness.
- II. Of the chief end of man.
- III. Upon Eccles. 12. 1. Remember thy Creator.
- IV. Upon the 51 Psalm, v. 10. Create a clean heart in me: with a poem.
- V. The folly and mischief of sin.
- VI. Of self-denial.
- VII. Motives to watchfulness, in reference to the good and evil angels.
- VIII. Of moderation of the affections.
- IX. Of worldly hope and expectation.
- X. Upon 13 Heb. 14, We have here no continuing city.
- XI. Of contentedness and patience.
- XII. Of moderation of anger.
- XIII. A preparative against afflictions.
- XIV. Of submission, prayer, and thanksgiving.
- XV. Of prayer and thanksgiving, on Psal. 116. 12.
- XVI. Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, with a paraphrase upon it.

In them there appears a generous and true spirit of religion, mixed with most serious and fervent devotion; and perhaps with the more advantage, that the stile wants some correction, which shews they

they were the genuine productions of an excellent mind, entertaining itself in secret with such contemplations. The stile is clear and masculine, in a due temper between flatness and affectation, in which he expresses his thoughts both easily and decently.

In writing these discourses, having run over most of the subjects that his own circumstances led him chiefly to consider, he began to be in some pain to choose new arguments; and therefore resolved to fix on a theme that should hold him longer.

He was soon determined in his choice, by the immoral and irreligious principles and practices, that had so long vexed his righteous soul; and therefore began a great design against atheism, the first part of which is only printed, of *the Origination of Mankind*, designed to prove the creation of the world, and the truth of the Mosaical history.

The second part was of the nature of the soul, and of a future state.

The third part was concerning the attributes of God, both from the abstracted ideas of him, and the light of nature; the evidence of Providence; the notions of morality, and the voice of conscience.

And the fourth part was concerning the truth and authority of the Scriptures, with answers to the objections against them. On writing these, he spent seven years. He wrote them with so much consideration, that one who perused the original under his own hand, which was the first draught of it, told me, he did not remember of any considerable alteration; perhaps not of twenty words in the whole work.

The way of his writing them, only on the evenings of the Lord's-day, when he was in town, and
not

not much oftener when he was in the country, made, that they are not so contracted, as it is very likely he would have writ them, if he had been more at leisure to have brought his thoughts into a narrower compass, and fewer words.

But making some allowance for the largeness of the stile, that volume that is printed, is generally acknowledged to be one of the perfectest pieces, both of learning and reasoning, that has been writ on that subject: and he who read a great part of the other volumes, told me, they were all of a piece with the first.

When he had finished this work, he sent it by an unknown hand to bishop Wilkins, to desire his judgment of it; but he that brought it, would give no other account of the author, but that he was not a clergyman. The bishop, and his worthy friend Dr. Tillotson, read a great deal of it with much pleasure, but could not imagine who could be the author; and how a man that was master of so much reason, and so great a variety of knowledge, should be so unknown to them, that they could not find him out, by those characters, which are so little common. At last Dr. Tillotson guessed it must be the lord chief baron; to which the other presently agreed, wondering he had been so long in finding it out. So they went immediately to him, and the bishop thanking him for the entertainment he had received from his works, he blushed extremely, not without some displeasure, apprehending that the person he had trusted had discovered him. But the bishop soon cleared that, and told him, he had discovered himself; for the learning of that book was so various, that none but he could be the author of it. And that bishop having a freedom in delivering his opinion of things and persons, which perhaps few ever managed,

both with so much plainness and prudence, told him, there was nothing could be better said on these arguments, if he could bring it into a less compass; but if he had not leisure for that, he thought it much better to have it come out, though a little too large, than that the world should be deprived of the good which it must needs do. But our judge had never the opportunities of revising it; so, a little before his death, he sent the first part of it to the press.

In the beginning of it, he gives an essay of his excellent way of methodizing things; in which he was so great a master, that whatever he undertook, he would presently cast into so perfect a scheme, that he could never afterwards correct it. He runs out copiously upon the argument of the impossibility of an eternal succession of time, to shew that time and eternity are inconsistent one with another; and that therefore all duration that was past, and defined by time, could not be from eternity; and he shews the difference between successive eternity already past, and one to come; so that though the latter is possible, the former is not so; for all the parts of the former have actually been; and therefore being defined by time, cannot be eternal; whereas the other are still future to all eternity; so that this reasoning cannot be turned to prove the possibility of eternal successions that have been, as well as eternal successions that shall be. This he follows with a strength I never met with in any that managed it before him.

He brings next all those moral arguments, to prove, that the world had a beginning, agreeing to the account Moses gives of it; as that no history rises higher, than near the time of the deluge; and that the first foundation of kingdoms, the invention of arts, the beginnings of all religions, the
gradual

gradual plantation of the world, and increase of mankind, and the consent of nations do agree with it. In managing these, as he shews profound skill both in historical and philosophical learning; so he gives a noble discovery of his great candour and probity, that he would not impose on the reader with a false shew of reasoning by arguments, that he knew had flaws in them; and therefore upon every one of these, he adds such allays, as in a great measure lessened and took off their force, with as much exactness of judgment, and strictness of censure, as if he had been set to plead for the other side: and indeed sums up the whole evidence for religion, as impartially as ever he did in a trial for life or death to the jury; which how equally and judicially he always did, the whole nation well knows.

After that, he examines the ancient opinions of the philosophers, and enlarges with a great variety of curious reflections in answering that only argument, that has any appearance of strength for the casual production of man, from the origination of insects out of putrified matter, as is commonly supposed; and he concluded the book, shewing how rational and philosophical the account which Moses gives of it is. There is in it all a sagacity and quickness of thought, mixed with great and curious learning, that I confess I never met together in any other book on that subject. Among other conjectures, one he gives concerning the deluge, is, that "he did not think the face of the earth, and the waters, were altogether the same before the universal deluge, and after: but possibly the face of the earth was more even than now it is: the seas possibly more dilated and extended, and not so deep as now." And a little after, "possibly the seas have undermined much of the appearing continent of earth."

earth." This I the rather take notice of, because it hath been, since his death, made out in a most ingenious, and most elegantly written book, by Mr. Burnet, of Christ's College, in Cambridge, who has given such an essay towards the proving the possibility of an universal deluge; and from thence has collected, with great sagacity, what Paradise was before it, as has not been offered by any philosopher before him.

While the judge was thus employing his time, the lord chief justice Keyling dying, he was on the 18th of May, 1671, promoted to be lord chief justice of England. He had made the pleas of the crown one of his chief studies, and by much search, and long observation, had composed that great work concerning them, formerly mentioned; he that holds the high office of justiciary in that court, being the chief trustee and assertor of the liberties of his country. All people applauded this choice, and thought their liberties could not be better deposited, than in the hands of one, that as he understood them well, so he had all the justice and courage, that so sacred a trust required. One thing was much observed and commended in him, that when there was a great inequality in the ability and learning of the councillors that were to plead one against another; he thought it became him, as the judge, to supply that; so he would enforce what the weaker council managed but indifferently, and not suffer the more learned to carry the business by the advantage they had over the others, in their quickness and skill in law, and readiness in pleading, till all things were cleared, in which the merits and strength of the ill-defended cause lay. He was not satisfied barely to give his judgment in causes; but did, especially in all intricate ones, give such an account of the reasons that prevailed with him,

him, that the council did not only acquiesce in his authority, but were so convinced by his reasons, that I have heard many profess that he brought them often to change their opinions; so that his giving of judgment was really a learned lecture upon that point of law: and which was yet more, the parties themselves, though interest does too commonly corrupt the judgment, were generally satisfied with the justice of his decisions, even when they were made against them. His impartial justice, and great diligence, drew the chief practice after him, into whatsoever court he came. Since, though the courts of the Common Pleas, the Exchequer, and the King's Bench, are appointed for the trial of causes of different natures, yet it is easy to bring most causes into any of them, as the council or attornies please; so as he had drawn the business much after him, both into the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, it now followed him into the King's Bench; and many causes that were depending in the Exchequer, and not determined, were let fall there, and brought again before him in the court, to which he was now removed. And here did he spend the rest of his publick life and employment.

But about four years and a half after this advancement, he who had hitherto enjoyed a firm and vigorous health, to which his great temperance, and the equality of his mind, did not a little conduce, was on a sudden brought very low by an inflammation in his midriff, which in two days time broke the constitution of his health to such a degree, that he never recovered it. He became so asthmatical, that with great difficulty he could fetch his breath, that determined in a dropsy, of which he afterwards died. He understood physic so well, that considering his age, he concluded his distemper must carry him off in a little time, and therefore he resolved
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to have some of the last months of his life reserved to himself, that being freed of all worldly cares, he might be preparing for his change. He was also so much disabled in his body, that he could hardly, though supported by his servants, walk through Westminster Hall, or endure the toil of business. He had been a long time wearied with the distractions that his employment had brought on him, and his profession was become ungrateful to him. He loved to apply himself wholly to better purposes, as will appear by a paper that he writ on this subject, which I shall here insert.

“ First, If I consider the business of my profession, whether as an advocate, or as a judge, it is true, I do acknowledge by the institution of Almighty God, and the dispensation of his providence, I am bound to industry and fidelity in it: and as it is an act of obedience unto his will, it carries with it some things of religious duty, and I may and do take comfort in it, and expect a reward of my obedience to him, and the good that I do to mankind therein, from the bounty and beneficence, and promise of Almighty God; and it is true also, that without such employments, civil societies cannot be supported, and great good redounds to mankind from them; and in these respects, the conscience of my own industry, fidelity, and integrity in them, is a great comfort and satisfaction to me. But yet this I must say concerning these employments, considered simply in themselves, that they are very full of cares, anxieties, and perturbations.

“ Secondly, That though they are beneficial to others, yet they are of the least benefit to him that is employed in them.

“ Thirdly,

“ Thirdly, That they do necessarily involve the party, whose office it is, in great dangers, difficulties, and calumnies.

“ Fourthly, That they only serve for the meridian of this life, which is short and uncertain.

“ Fifthly, That though it be my duty, faithfully to serve in them, while I am called to them, and till I am duly called from them, yet they are great consumers of that little time we have here; which, as it seems to me, might be better spent in a pious contemplative life, and a due provision for eternity. I do not know a better temporal employment than Martha had, in testifying her love and duty to our Saviour, by making provision for him; yet our Lord tells her, *That though she was troubled about many things, there was only one thing necessary, and Mary had chosen the better part.*”

By this the reader will see, that he continued in his station upon no other consideration, but that being set in it by the providence of God, he judged he could not abandon that post which was assigned him, without preferring his own private inclination to the choice God had made for him; but now that same providence having by this great distemper disengaged him from the obligation of holding a place, which he was no longer able to discharge, he resolved to resign it. This was no sooner surmised abroad, than it drew upon him the importunities of all his friends, and the clamour of the whole town to divert him from it; but all was to no purpose; there was but one argument that could move him, which was, “ That he was obliged to continue in the employment God had put him in for the good of the public.” But to this he had such an answer, that even those who were most concerned in his withdrawing, could not
but

but see, that the reasons inducing him to it, were but too strong; so he made applications to his majesty for his writ of ease, which the king was very unwilling to grant him, and offered to let him hold his place still, he doing what business he could in his chamber; but he said, he could not with a good conscience continue in it, since he was no longer able to discharge the duty belonging to it.

But yet such was the general satisfaction which all the kingdom received by his excellent administration of justice, that the king, though he could not well deny his request, yet he deferred the granting of it as long as was possible: nor could the lord chancellor be prevailed with to move the king to hasten his discharge, though the chief justice often pressed him to it.

At last having wearied himself, and all his friends, with his importunate desires; and growing sensibly weaker in body, he did upon the 21st day of February, 28 Car. 2. anno dom. 1675-6, go before a master of the Chancery, with a little parchment deed, drawn by himself, and written all with his own hand, and there sealed and delivered it, and acknowledged it to be enrolled; and afterwards he brought the original deed to the Lord Chancellor, and did formally surrender his office in these words:

“ Omnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præsens scriptura pervenerit, Matheus Hale, Miles, capitalis justiciarius domini regis ad placita coram ipso rege tenenda assignatus, salutem in domino sempiternam. Noveritis me præfatum Matheum Hale, Militem, jam senem factum, et variis corporis mei senilis morbis et infirmitatibus dire laborantem, et adhuc detentum, hâc chartâ mea resignare et sursum redere serenissimo domino nostro Carolo secundo dei

dei gratià Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, regi, fidei defensori, &c. predictum officium capitalis justiciarii ad placita coram ipso rege tenenda, humillime petens quod hoc scriptum irrotaletur de recordo. In cujus rei testimonium huic chartæ meæ resignationis sigillum meum apposui. Dat. vicesimo primo die Februarii anno regni dict. dom. regis nunc vicesimo octavo."

He made this instrument, as he told the lord chancellor, for two ends; the one was to shew the world his own free concurrence to his removal: another was to obviate an objection heretofore made, that a chief justice, being placed by writ, was not removable at pleasure, as judges by patent were; which opinion, as he said, was once held by his predecessor the lord chief justice Keyling; and though he himself were always of another opinion, yet he thought it reasonable to prevent such a scruple.

He had the day before surrendered to the king in person, who parted from him with great grace, wishing him most heartily the return of his health; and assuring him, "That he would still look upon him as one of his judges, and have recourse to his advice when his health would permit; and in the mean time would continue his pension during his life."

The good man thought this bounty too great, and an ill precedent for the king; and therefore wrote a letter to the lord treasurer, earnestly desiring, that his pension might be only *during pleasure*; but the king would grant it for life, and make it payable quarterly.

And yet, for a whole month together, he would not suffer his servant to sue out his patent for his pension; and when the first payment was received, he

he ordered a great part of it to charitable uses; and said, he intended most of it should be so employed as long as it was paid him.

At last he happened to die upon the quarter-day, which was Christmas day; and though this might have given some occasion to a dispute, whether the pension for that quarter were recoverable, yet the king was pleased to decide that matter against himself, and ordered the pension to be paid to his executors.

As soon as he was discharged from his great place, he returned home with as much cheerfulness, as his want of health could admit of, being now eased of a burthen he had been of late groaning under, and so made more capable of enjoying that which he had much wished for, according to his elegant translation of, or rather paraphrase upon, those excellent lines in Seneca's *Thyestes*, Act 2.

Stet quicunque volet potens,

Aulæ culmine lubrico;

Me dulcis saturet quies.

Obscuro positus loco,

Leni perfruar otio:

Nullis nota Quiritibus,

Ætas per tacitum fluat.

Sic cum transierint mei,

Nullo cum strepitu dies,

Plebeius moriar senex.

Illi mors gravis incubat,

Qui notus nimis omnibus,

Ignotus moritur sibi.

Let him that will ascend the tottering seat

Of courtly grandeur, and become as great

As are his mounting wishes: As for me,

Let sweet repose and rest my portion be.

Give

Give me some mean obscure recess ; a sphere
Out of the road of business, or the fear
Of falling lower ; where I sweetly may
Myself and dear retirement still enjoy.
Let not my life or name be known unto
The grandees of the time, tost to and fro
By censures or applause ; but let my age
Slide gently by, not overthwart the stage
Of public action, unheard, unseen,
And unconcern'd, as if I ne'er had been.
And thus, while I shall pass my silent days
In shady privacy, free from the noise
And bustles of the bad world, then shall I
A good old innocent Plebeian die.
Death is a mere surprise, a very snare
To him, that makes it his life's greatest care
To be a public pageant, known to all,
But unacquainted with himself doth fall.

Having now attained to that privacy, which he had no less seriously, than piously wished for, he called all his servants that had belonged to his office together, and told them, he had now laid down his place, and so their employments were determined ; upon that he advised them to see for themselves, and gave to some of them very considerable presents, and to every one of them a token, and so dismissed all those that were not his domestics. He was discharged the 15th of February, 1675-6, and lived till the Christmas following ; but all the while was in so ill a state of health, that there was no hopes of his recovery. He continued still to retire often, both for his devotions and studies ; and as long as he could go, went constantly to his closet ; and when his infirmities increased on him, so that he was not able to go thither himself, he made his servants carry him thither in a chair. At last,

last, as the winter came on, he saw, with great joy, his deliverance approaching; for besides his being weary of the world, and his longings for the blessedness of another state, his pains increased so on him, that no patience inferior to his could have borne them without a great uneasiness of mind; yet he expressed to the last such submission to the will of God, and so equal a temper under them, that it was visible then what mighty effects his philosophy and christianity had on him, in supporting him under such a heavy load.

He could not lie down in bed above a year before his death, by reason of the asthma; but sat, rather than lay in it.

He was attended on in his sickness, by a pious and worthy divine, Mr. Evan Griffith, minister of the parish; and it was observed, that in all the extremities of his pain, whenever he prayed by him, he forbore all complaints or groans, but with his hands and eyes lifted up, was fixed in his devotion: not long before his death, the minister told him, "there was to be a sacrament next Sunday at church, but he believed he could not come and partake with the rest; therefore he would give it to him in his own house:" but he answered, "no; his heavenly Father had prepared a feast for him, and he would go to his Father's house to partake of it." So he made himself be carried thither in his chair, where he received the sacrament on his knees, with great devotion; which it may be supposed was the greater, because he apprehended it was to be his last, and so took it as his *viaticum*, and provision for his journey. He had some secret unaccountable presages of his death; for he said, "that if he did not die on such a day," (which fell to be the 25th of November) "he believed he should live a month longer;" and he died that very day month. He

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continued to enjoy the free use of his reason and sense to the last moment, which he had often and earnestly prayed for, during his sickness: and when his voice was so sunk, that he could not be heard, they perceived by the almost constant lifting up of his eyes and hands, that he was still aspiring towards that blessed state, of which he was now speedily to be possessed.

He had for many years a particular devotion for Christmas-day; and after he had received the sacrament, and been in the performance of the public worship of that day, he commonly wrote a copy of verses on the honour of his Saviour, as a fit expression of the joy he felt in his soul, at the return of that glorious anniversary. There are seventeen of those copies printed, which he writ on seventeen several Christmas-days, by which the world has a taste of his poetical genius; in which, if he had thought it worth his time to have excelled, he might have been eminent as well as in other things; but he writ them rather to entertain himself, than to merit the laurel.

I shall here add one which has not been yet printed, and it is not unlikely it was the last he writ; it is a paraphrase on Simeon's Song. I take it from his blotted copy, not at all finished; so the reader is to make allowance for any imperfection he may find in it.

Blessed Creator, who before the birth
Of time, or e're the pillars of the earth
Were fix'd, or form'd, did'st lay that great design
Of man's redemption, and did'st define
In thine eternal counsels all the scene
Of that stupendous business, and when
It should appear; and though the very day
Of its Epiphany, concealed lay

Within

Within thy mind, yet thou wert pleased to show
Some glimpses of it, unto men below,
In visions, types, and prophecies, as we
Things at a distance in perspective see:
But thou wert pleas'd to let thy servant know
That that blest hour, that seem'd to move so slow
Through former ages, should at last attain
Its time, e're my few sands, that yet remain
Are spent; and that these aged eyes
Should see the day when Jacob's star should rise.
And now thou hast fulfill'd it, blessed Lord,
Dismiss me now, according to thy word;
And let my aged body now return
To rest, and dust, and drop into an urn.
For I have liv'd enough, mine eyes have seen
Thy much-desired salvation, that hath been
So long, so dearly wish'd, the joy, the hope
Of all the ancient patriarchs, the scope
Of all the prophecies, and mysteries,
Of all the types unvail'd, the histories
Of Jewish church unriddled, and the bright
And orient sun arisen to give light
To Gentiles, and the joy of Israel,
The world's Redeemer, blest Emanuel.
Let this sight close mine eyes; 'tis loss to see,
After this vision, any sight but thee.

Thus he used to sing on the former Christmas-days, but now he was to be admitted to bear his part in the new songs above; so that day which he had spent in so much spiritual joy, proved to be indeed the day of his jubilee and deliverance; for between two and three in the afternoon, he breathed out his righteous and pious soul. His end was peace; he had no strugglings, nor seemed to be in any pangs in his last moments. He was ouried on the 4th of January, Mr. Griffith preaching the funeral

neral-sermon. His text was the 57th of Isaiah, ver. 1:—*The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart; and merciful men are taken away, none considering, that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come.* Which how fitly it was applicable upon this occasion; all that consider the course of his life, will easily conclude. He was interred⁹ in the church-yard of Alderley, among his ancestors: he did not much approve of burying in churches, and used to say, “The churches were for the living, and the church-yards for the dead.” His monument was like himself, decent and plain. The tomb-stone was black marble, and the sides were black and white marble; upon which he himself had ordered this bare and humble inscription to be made:

HIC INHUMATUR CORPUS
MATTHEI HALE, MILITIS;
ROBERTI HALE, ET JOANNÆ,
UXORIS EJUS, FILII UNICI;
NATI IN HAC PAROCHIA DE
ALDERLY, PRIMO DIE NOVEMBRIS,
ANNO DOM. 1609.
DENATI VERO IBIDEM VICESIMO
QUINTO DIE DECEMBRIS,
ANNO DOM. 1676.
ÆTATIS SUÆ, LXVII.

Having thus given an account of the most remarkable things of his life, I am now to present the reader with such a character of him, as the laying his several virtues together will amount to:

⁹ *Was interred.*] “He went into the common church-yard, and there chose his grave, and died a few days after.” Baxter’s *Narrative of his Life and Times*, Part 3. p. 181.

in which I know how difficult a task I undertake ; for to write defectively of him, were to injure him, and lessen the memory of one to whom I intend to do all the right that is in my power. On the other hand, there is so much here to be commended, and proposed for the imitation of others, that I am afraid some may imagine, I am rather making a picture of him, from an abstracted idea of great virtues and perfections, than setting him out as he truly was. But there is great encouragement in this, that I write concerning a man so fresh in all peoples remembrance, that is so lately dead, and was so much and so well known, that I shall have many vouchers, who will be ready to justify me in all that I am to relate, and to add a great deal to what I can say.

It has appeared in the account of his various learning, how great his capacities were, and how much they were improved by constant study. He rose always early in the morning ; he loved to walk much abroad ; not only for his health, but he thought it opened his mind, and enlarged his thoughts to have the creation of God before his eyes. When he set himself to any study, he used to cast his design in a scheme, which he did with a great exactness of method ; he took nothing on trust, but pursued his enquiries as far as they could go ; and as he was humble enough to confess his ignorance, and submit to mysteries which he could not comprehend ; so he was not easily imposed on, by any shews of reason, or the bugbears of vulgar opinions. He brought all his knowledge as much to scientific principles, as he possibly could ; which made him neglect the study of tongues, for the bent of his mind lay another way. Discoursing once of this to some, they said, " They looked on the common law, as a study that
could

could not be brought into a scheme, nor formed into a rational science, by reason of the indigestedness of it, and the multiplicity of the cases in it, which rendered it very hard to be understood, or reduced into a method:" but he said, "He was not of their mind;" and so quickly after, he drew with his own hand, a scheme of the whole order and parts of it, in a large sheet of paper, to the great satisfaction of those to whom he sent it. Upon this hint, some pressed him to compile a body of the English law: it could hardly ever be done by a man who knew it better, and would with more judgment and industry have put it into method: but he said, "As it was a great and noble design, which would be of vast advantage to the nation; so it was too much for a private man to undertake. It was not to be entered upon, but by the command of a prince, and with the communicated endeavours of some of the most eminent of the profession."

He had great vivacity in his fancy, as may appear by his inclination to poetry, and the lively illustrations, and many tender strains in his contemplations; but he looked on eloquence and wit, as things to be used very chastely, in serious matters, which should come under a severer inquiry: therefore he was both, when at the bar, and on the bench, a great enemy to all eloquence or rhetoric in pleading. He said, "If the judge, or jury, had a right understanding, it signified nothing, but a waste of time, and loss of words; and if they were weak, and easily wrought on, it was a more decent way of corrupting them, by bribing their fancies, and biassing their affections;" and wondered much at that affectation of the French lawyers, in imitating the Roman orators in their pleadings: for the oratory of the Romans, was occa-

sioned by their popular government, and the factions of the city; so that those who intended to excell in the pleading of causes, were trained up in the schools of the rhetors, till they became ready and expert in that luscious way of discourse. It is true, the composures of such a man as Tully was, who mixed an extraordinary quickness, an exact judgment, and a just decorum with his skill in rhetoric, do still entertain the readers of them with great pleasure: but at the same time, it must be acknowledged, that there is not that chastity of stile, that closeness of reasoning, nor that justness of figures in his orations, that is in his other writings; so that a great deal was said by him, rather because he knew it would be acceptable to his auditors, than that it was approved of by himself; and all who read them, will acknowledge, they are better pleased with them as essays of wit and stile, than as pleadings, by which such a judge as ours was, would not be much wrought on. And if there are such grounds to censure the performances of the greatest master in eloquence, we may easily infer what nauseous discourses the other orators made; since in oratory, as well as in poetry, none can do indifferently. So our judge wondered to find the French, that live under a monarchy, so fond of imitating that which was an ill effect of the popular government of Rome. He therefore pleaded himself always in few words, and home to the point: and when he was a judge, he held those that pleaded before him, to the main hinge of the business, and cut them short when they made excursions about circumstances of no moment, by which he saved much time, and made the chief difficulties be well stated and cleared.

There was another custom among the Romans, which he as much admired, as he despised their rhetoric,

rhetoric, which was, that the *juris-consults* were the men of the highest quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief employment in the state, and became the great masters of their law. These gave their opinions of all cases that were put to them freely, judging it below them to take any present for it; and indeed they were only the true lawyers among them, whose resolutions were of that authority, that they made one classis of those materials, out of which Trebonian compiled the digests under Justinian; for the orators, or *causidici*, that pleaded causes, knew little of the law, and only employed their mercenary tongues, to work on the affections of the people and senate, or the pretors: even in most of Tully's orations there is little of law; and that little which they might sprinkle in their declamations, they had not from their own knowledge, but the resolution of some *juris-consult*; according to that famous story of Servius Sulpitius, who was a celebrated orator, and being to receive the resolution of one of those that were learned in the law, was so ignorant, that he could not understand it; upon which the *juris-consult* reproached him, and said, "It was a shame for him that was a nobleman, a senator, and a pleader of causes, to be thus ignorant of law." This touched him so sensibly, that he set about the study of it, and became one of the most eminent *juris-consults* that ever were at Rome. Our judge thought it might become the greatness of a prince, to encourage such a sort of men, and of studies; in which, none in the age he lived in was equal to the great Selden, who was truly in our English law, what the old Roman *juris-consults* were in theirs.

But where a decent eloquence was allowable, judge Hale knew how to have excelled as much as

any, either in illustrating his reasonings, by proper and well pursued similies, or by such tender expressions, as might work most on the affections; so that the present lord chancellor has often said of him, since his death, "That he was the greatest orator he had known;" for though his words came not fluently from him, yet when they were out, they were the most significant, and expressive, that the matter could bear. Of this sort there are many in his contemplations made to quicken his own devotion, which have a life in them becoming him that used them, and a softness fit to melt even the harshest tempers, accommodated to the gravity of the subject, and apt to excite warm thoughts in the readers; that as they shew his excellent temper that brought them out, and applied them to himself; so they are of great use to all, who would both inform and quicken their minds. Of his illustrations of things by proper similies, I shall give a large instance out of his book of the Origination of Mankind, designed to expose the several different hypotheses the philosophers fell on, concerning the eternity and original of the universe, and to prefer the account given by Moses to all their conjectures; in which, if my taste does not misguide me, the reader will find a rare and very agreeable mixture, both of fine wit, and solid learning and judgment.

"That which may illustrate my meaning, in this preference of the revealed light of the holy Scriptures, touching this matter, above the essays of a philosophical imagination, may be this. Suppose that Greece being unacquainted with the curiosity of mechanical engines, though known in some remote region of the world; and that an excellent artist had secretly brought and deposited in some field, or forest, some excellent watch, or clock,

clock, which had been so formed, that the original of its motion were hidden, and involved in some close contrived piece of mechanism; that this watch was so framed, that the motion thereof might have lasted a year, or some such time, as might give a reasonable period for their philosophical descanting concerning it; and that in the plain table there had been not only the description and indication of hours, but the configurations and indications of the various phases of the moon, the motion and place of the sun in the ecliptic, and divers other curious indications of celestial motions; and that the scholars of the several schools, of Epicurus, of Aristotle, of Plato, and the rest of those philosophical sects, had casually in their walk, found this admirable automaton: what kind of work would there have been made by every sect, in giving an account of this phenomenon! We should have had the Epicurean sect, have told the by-standers, according to their preconceived hypothesis, "that this was nothing else but an accidental concretion of atoms, that happily fallen together, had made up the index, the wheels, and the balance; and that being happily fallen into this posture, they were put into motion." Then the Cartesian falls in with him, as to the main of their supposition; but tells him, "that he doth not sufficiently explicate how the engine is put into motion; and therefore to furnish this motion, there is a certain *materia subtilis* that pervades this engine, and the moveable parts, consisting of certain globular atoms, apt for motion; they are thereby, and by the mobility of the globular atoms, put into motion." A third finding fault with the two former, "because those motions are so regular, and do express the various phenomena of the distribution of time, and the heavenly motions; therefore it seems to

to him, that this engine and motion also, so analogical to the motions of the heavens, was wrought by some admirable conjunction of the heavenly bodies, which formed this instrument and its motions, in such an admirable correspondency to its own existence." A fourth, disliking the suppositions of the three former, tells the rest, "that he hath a more plain and evident solution of the phenomenon, namely, the universal soul of the world, or spirit of nature, that formed so many sorts of insects with so many organs, faculties, and such congruity of their whole composition, and such curious and various motions, as we may observe in them, hath formed and set into motion this admirable automaton, and regulated and ordered it, with all these congruities we see in it." Then steps in an Aristotelian; and being dissatisfied with all the former solutions, tells them, "Gentlemen, you are all mistaken; your solutions are inexplicable and unsatisfactory; you have taken up certain precarious hypotheses; and being prepossessed with these creatures of your own fancies, and in love with them, right or wrong, you form all your conceptions of things according to those fancied and preconceived imaginations. The short of the business is, this machina is eternal, and so are all the motions of it; and in as much as a circular motion hath no beginning or end, this motion that you see both in the wheels and index, and the successive indications of the celestial motions, is eternal, and without beginning. And this is a ready and expedite way of solving the phenomena, without so much ado as you have made about it."

"And whilst all the masters were thus contriving the solution of the phenomenon, in the hearing of the artist that made it; and when they had all spent their philosophizing upon it, the artist that made this
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this engine, and all this while listened to their admirable fancies, tells them, 'Gentlemen, you have discovered very much excellency of invention, touching this piece of work that is before you; but you are all miserably mistaken; for it was I that made this watch, and brought it hither, and I will shew you how I made it. First, I wrought the spring, and the fusee, and the wheels, and the balance, and the case and table; I fitted them one to another, and placed these several axes that are to direct the motions, of the index to discover the hour of the day, of the figure that discovers the phases of the moon, and the other various motions that you see; and then I put it together, and wound up the spring, which hath given all these motions, that you see in this curious piece of work; and that you may be sure, I tell you true, I will tell you the whole order and progress of my making, disposing and ordering of this piece of work; the several materials of it; the manner of the forming of every individual part of it, and how long I was about it.' This plain and evident discovery renders all these excogitated hypotheses of those philosophical enthusiasts vain and ridiculous, without any great help of rhetorical flourishes, or logical confutations. And much of the same nature is that disparity of the hypotheses of the learned philosophers, in relation to the origination of the world and man, after a great deal of dust raised, and fanciful explications, and unintelligible hypotheses. The plain, but divine narrative by the hand of Moses, full of sense, and congruity, and clearness, and reasonableness in itself, does at the same moment give us a true and clear discovery of this great mystery, and renders all the essays of the generality of the heathen philosophers to be vain, inevident, and indeed inexplicable theories, the creatures

creatures of phantasy and imagination, and nothing else."

As for his virtues, they have appeared so conspicuous in all the several transactions, and turns of his life, that it may seem needless to add any more of them, than has been already related; but there are many particular instances which I knew not how to fit to the several years of his life, which will give us a clearer and better view of him.

He was a devout christian, a sincere protestant, and a true son of the Church of England; moderate towards dissenters, and just even to those from whom he differed most; which appeared signally in the care he took, in a case of the quakers; wherein he was very cautious in declaring their marriages void, and so bastarding their children; but he considered marriage and succession as a right of nature, from which none ought to be barred, what mistake soever they might be under, in the points of revealed religion.

And therefore in a trial that was before him, when a quaker was sued for some debts owing by his wife before he married her, and the quaker's council pretended "that it was no marriage that had passed between them, since it was not solemnized according to the rules of the Church of England," he declared, that he was not willing on his own opinion to make their children bastards, and gave directions to the jury to find it special, which they did. It was a reflection on the whole party, that one of them, to avoid an inconvenience he had fallen in, thought to have preserved himself by a defence, that if this judge had absolutely determined, must have made their whole issue bastards, and incapable of succession; and for all their pretended friendship to one another, if this judge had not been more their friend, than one of those they

so called, their posterity had been little beholden to them. But he governed himself indeed by the law of the Gospel, of *doing to others, what he would have others do to him*; and therefore because he would have thought it a hardship not without a cruelty, if amongst papists all marriages were nulled which had not been made with all the ceremonies in the Roman ritual; so he applying this to the case of the sectaries, thought all marriages made according to the several persuasions of men, ought to have their effects in law.

He used constantly to worship God in his family, performing it always himself, if there was no clergyman present: but as to his private exercises in devotion, he took that extraordinary care to keep what he did secret, that this part of his character must be defective, except it be acknowledged that his humility in covering it, commends him much more than the highest expressions of devotion could have done.

From the first time that the impressions of religion settled deeply in his mind, he used great caution to conceal it; not only in obedience to the rules given by our Saviour, of fasting, praying, and giving alms in secret, but from a particular distrust he had of himself; for he said he was afraid he should at some time or other, do some enormous thing, which if he were looked on as a very religious man, might cast a reproach on the profession of it, and give great advantages to impious men, to blaspheme the name of God. But a tree is known by its fruits; and he lived not only free of blemishes, or scandal, but shined in all the parts of his conversation. And perhaps the distrust he was in of himself, contributed not a little to the purity of his life; for he being thereby obliged to be more watchful over himself, and to depend more on the
aids

aids of the spirit of God, no wonder if that humble temper produced those excellent effects in him.

He had a soul enlarged and raised above that mean appetite of loving money, which is generally *the root of all evil*. He did not take the profits that he might have had by his practice; for in common cases, when those who came to ask his counsel gave him a piece, he used to give back the half, and so made ten shillings his fee, in ordinary matters, that did not require much time or study. If he saw a cause was unjust, he, for a great while, would not meddle further in it, but to give his advice that it was so: if the parties after that, would go on, they were to seek another counsellor, for he would assist none in acts of injustice: if he found the cause doubtful, or weak in point of law, he always advised his clients to agree their business: yet afterwards he abated much of the scrupulosity he had about causes that appeared at first view unjust, upon this occasion: there were two causes brought to him, which by the ignorance of the party, or their attorney, were so ill represented to him, that they seemed to be very bad; but he enquiring more narrowly into them, found they were really very good and just: so after this he slackened much¹ of his former strictness, of refusing to meddle in causes upon the ill circumstances that appeared in them at first.

In his pleading he abhorred those too common faults of mis-reciting evidences, quoting precedents, or books falsely, or asserting things confidently; by which ignorant juries, or weak judges, are too

¹ *He slackened much.*] Compare above, p. 13. "Judge Hale would tell me that Bishop Usher was much prejudiced against lawyers, *because the worst causes find their advocates*; but that he and Mr. Selden had convinced him of *the reasons of it*, to his satisfaction." Baxter's Letter to Mr. Stephens. See Hales's *Moral, &c. Works*, Vol. I. p. 106.

often wrought on. He pleaded with the same sincerity that he used in the other parts of his life, and used to say, "it was as great a dishonour as a man was capable of; that for a little money he was to be hired to say or do otherwise than as he thought." All this he ascribed to the unmeasurable desire of heaping up wealth, which corrupted the souls of some that seemed to be otherwise born and made for great things.

When he was a practitioner, differences were often referred to him, which he settled; but would accept of no reward for his pains, though offered by both parties together, after the agreement was made; for he said, "in those cases he was made a judge, and a judge ought to take no money." If they told him, "he lost much of his time in considering their business, and so ought to be acknowledged for it," his answer was, (as one that heard it told me,) "can I spend my time better, than to make people friends? must I have no time allowed me to do good in?"

He was naturally a quick man, yet by much practice on himself, he subdued that to such a degree, that he would never run suddenly into any conclusion concerning any matter of importance. *Festina lente* was his beloved motto, which he ordered to be engraven on the head of his staff; and was often heard say, "that he had observed many witty men run into great errors, because they did not give themselves time to think; but the heat of imagination making some notions appear in good colours to them, they without staying till that cooled, were violently led by the impulses it made on them; whereas calm and slow men, who pass for dull in the common estimation, could search after truth, and find it out, as with more deliberation, so with greater certainty."

He

He laid aside the tenth penny of all he got for the poor, and took great care to be well informed of proper objects for his charities; and after he was a judge, many of the perquisites of his place, as his dividend of the rule and box-money, were sent by him to the jails, to discharge poor prisoners, who never knew from whose hands their relief came. It is also a custom for the marshal of the King's Bench, to present the judges of that court with a piece of plate for a new-year's-gift, that for the chief justice being larger than the rest: this he intended to have refused, but the other judges told him it belonged to his office, and the refusing it would be a prejudice to his successors, so he was persuaded to take it, but he sent word to the marshal, that instead of plate, he should bring him the value of it in money; and when he received it, he immediately sent it to the prisons, for the relief and discharge of the poor there. He usually invited his poor neighbours to dine with him, and made them sit at table with himself: and if any of them were sick, so that they could not come, he would send meat warm to them from his table: and he did not only relieve the poor in his own parish, but sent supplies to the neighbouring parishes, as there was occasion for it: and he treated them all with the tenderness and familiarity that became one, who considered they were of the same nature with himself, and were reduced to no other necessities but such as he himself might be brought to. But for common beggars, if any of these came to him, as he was in his walks, when he lived in the country, he would ask such as were capable of working, "why they went about so idly?" If they answered, "it was because they could find no work," he often sent them to some field, to gather all the stones in it, and lay them on a heap, and then would pay them liberally for their pains: this
being

being done, he used to send his carts, and caused them to be carried to such places of the highway as needed mending.

But when he was in town, he dealt his charities very liberally, even among the street-beggars; and when some told him, "that he thereby encouraged idleness, and that most of these were notorious cheats," he used to answer, "that he believed most of them were such; but among them there were some that were great objects of charity, and pressed with grievous necessities; and that he had rather give his alms to twenty, who might be perhaps rogues, than that one of the other sort should perish for want of that small relief which he gave them."

He loved building much, which he affected chiefly, because it employed many poor people: but one thing was observed in all his buildings, that the changes he made in his houses, were always from magnificence to usefulness, for he avoided every thing that looked like pomp, or vanity, even in the walls of his houses. He had good judgment in architecture, and an excellent faculty in contriving well.

He was a gentle landlord to all his tenants, and was ever ready upon any reasonable complaints, to make abatements; for he was merciful as well as righteous. One instance of this was, of a widow that lived in London, and had a small estate near his house in the country, from which her rents were ill returned to her, and at a cost which she could not well bear: so she bemoaned herself to him; and he, according to his readiness to assist all poor people, told her, "he would order his steward to take up her rents, and the returning them should cost her nothing." But after that, when there was a falling of rents in that country, so that it was necessary to make abatements to the tenant, yet he would

would have it to lie on himself, and made the widow be paid her rent as formerly.

Another remarkable instance of his justice and goodness was, that when he found ill money had been put into his hands, he would never suffer it to be vented again; for he thought it was no excuse for him to put false money in other people's hands, because some had put it in his. A great heap of this he had gathered together, for many had so far abused his goodness, as to mix base money among the fees that were given him. It is like he intended to have destroyed it, but some thieves who had observed it, broke into his chamber and stole it, thinking they had got a prize, which he used to tell with some pleasure, imagining how they found themselves deceived, when they perceived what sort of booty they had fallen on.

After he was made a judge, he would needs pay more for every purchase he made than it was worth. If it had been but a horse he was to buy, he would have outbid the price: and when some represented to him, that he made ill bargains, he said, it became judges to pay more for what they bought than the true value, that so those with whom they dealt might not think they had any right to their favour, by having sold such things to them at an easy rate: and said it was suitable to the reputation which a judge ought to preserve, to make such bargains, that the world might see they were not too well used upon some secret account.

In sum, his estate did shew how little he had minded the raising a great fortune; for from a hundred pound a year, he raised it not quite to nine hundred, and of this a very considerable part came in by his share of Mr. Selden's estate; yet this, considering his great practice while a counsellor, and his constant, frugal, and modest way of

of living, was but a small fortune. In the share that fell to him by Mr. Selden's will, one memorable thing was done by him, with the other executors, by which they both shewed their regard to their dead friend, and their love of the public. His library was valued at some thousands of pounds, and was believed to be one of the most curious collections in Europe: so they resolved to keep this intire, for the honour of Selden's memory, and gave it to the university of Oxford, where a noble room was added to the former library for its reception, and all due respects have been since shewed by that great and learned body, to those their worthy benefactors, who not only parted so generously with this great treasure, but were a little put to it how to oblige them, without crossing the will of their dead friend. Mr. Selden had once intended to give his library to that university, and had left it so by his will; but having occasion for a manuscript, which belonged to their library, they asked of him a bond of a thousand pound for its restitution; this he took so ill at their hands, that he struck out that part of his will by which he had given them his library, and with some passion declared "they should never have it." The executors stuck at this a little, but having considered better of it, came to this resolution; that they were to be the executors of Mr. Selden's will, and not of his passion; so they made good what he had intended in cold blood, and passed over what his passion had suggested to him.

The parting with so many excellent books, would have been as uneasy to our judge, as any thing of that nature could be, if a pious regard to his friend's memory had not prevailed over him; for he valued books and manuscripts above all things in the world. He himself had made a great and
rare

rare collection of manuscripts belonging to the law of England ; he was forty years in gathering it : he himself said it cost him about fifteen hundred pounds, and calls it in his will, “ a treasure worth having and keeping, and not fit for every man’s view.” These all he left to Lincoln’s-Inn, and for the information of those who are curious to search into such things ; there shall be a catalogue of them added at the end of this book.

By all these instances it does appear, how much he was raised above the world, or the love of it. But having thus mastered things without him, his next study was to overcome his own inclinations. He was, as he said himself, naturally passionate ; I add *as he said himself*, for that appeared by no other evidence, save that sometimes his colour would rise a little ; but he so governed himself, that those who lived long about him, have told me they never saw him disordered with anger, though he met with some trials, that the nature of man is as little able to bear, as any whatsoever. There was one who did him a great injury, which it is not necessary to mention, who coming afterwards to him for his advice in the settlement of his estate, he gave it very frankly to him, but would accept of no fee for it, and thereby shewed both that he could forgive as a christian, and that he had the soul of a gentleman in him, not to take money of one that had wronged him so heinously. And when he was asked by one, “ how he could use a man so kindly, that had wronged him so much ;” his answer was, “ he thanked God he had learned to forget injuries.” And besides the great temper he expressed in all his public employments, in his family he was a very gentle master. He was tender of all his servants : he never turned any away, except they were so faulty, that there was no hope
of

of reclaiming them. When any of them had been long out of the way, or had neglected any part of their duty, he would not see them at their first coming home, and sometimes not till the next day, lest when his displeasure was quick upon him, he might have chid them indecently; and when he did reprove them, he did it with that sweetness and gravity, that it appeared he was more concerned for their having done a fault, than for the offence given by it to himself. But if they became immoral or unruly, then he turned them away, for he said, "he that by his place ought to punish disorders in other people, must by no means suffer them in his own house." He advanced his servants according to the time they had been about him, and would never give occasion to envy amongst them, by raising the younger clerks above those who had been longer with him. He treated them all with great affection, rather as a friend, than a master, giving them often good advice and instruction. He made those who had good places under him, give some of their profits to the other servants, who had nothing but their wages. When he made his will, he left legacies to every one of them; but he expressed a more particular kindness for one of them, Robert Gibbon, of the Middle Temple, Esq. in whom he had that confidence, that he left him one of his executors. I the rather mention him, because of his noble gratitude to his worthy benefactor and master: for he has been so careful to preserve his memory, that as he set those on me, at whose desire I undertook to write his life, so he has procured for me a great part of those memorials and informations, out of which I have composed it.

The judge was of a most tender and compassionate nature. This did eminently appear in his

trying and giving sentence upon criminals, in which he was strictly careful, that not a circumstance should be neglected, which might any way clear the fact. He behaved himself with that regard to the prisoners, which became both the gravity of a judge, and the pity that was due to men, whose lives lay at stake, so that nothing of jearing or unreasonable severity fell from him. He also examined the witnesses in the softest manner, taking care that they should be put under no confusion, which might disorder their memory: and he summed all the evidence so equally when he charged the jury, that the criminals themselves never complained of him. When it came to him to give sentence, he did it with that composedness and decency, and his speeches to the prisoners, directing them to prepare for death, were so weighty, so free of all affectation, and so serious and devout, that many loved to go to the trials, when he sat judge, to be edified by his speeches, and behaviour in them, and used to say, "they heard very few such sermons."

But though the pronouncing the sentence of death, was the piece of his employment that went most against the grain with him; yet in that he could never be mollified to any tenderness which hindered justice. When he was once pressed to recommend some (whom he had condemned) to his majesty's mercy and pardon; he answered, "he could not think they deserved a pardon, whom he himself adjudged to die:" so that all he would do in that kind was to give the king a true account of the circumstances of the fact, after which, his majesty was to consider whether he would interpose his mercy, or let justice take place.

His mercifulness extended even to his beasts; for when the horses that he had kept long, grew old,

old, he would not suffer them to be sold, or much wrought, but ordered his men to turn them loose on his grounds, and put them only to easy work, such as going to market and the like: he used old dogs also with the same care. His shepherd having one that was become blind with age, he intended to have killed or lost him, but the judge coming to hear of it, made one of his servants bring him home, and fed him till he died. And he was scarce ever seen more angry than with one of his servants for neglecting a bird that he kept, so that it died for want of food.

He was a great encourager of all young persons, that he saw followed their books diligently, to whom he used to give directions concerning the method of their study, with a humanity and sweetness, that wrought much on all that came near him: and in a smiling pleasant way, he would admonish them, if he saw any thing amiss in them: particularly if they went too fine in their clothes, he would tell them, "it did not become their profession." He was not pleased to see students wear long perriwigs, or attorneys go with swords; so that such young men as would not be persuaded to part with those vanities, when they went to him laid them aside, and went as plain as they could, to avoid the reproof which they knew they might otherwise expect.

He was very free and communicate in his discourse, which he most commonly fixed on some good and useful subject, and loved for an hour or two at night, to be visited by some of his friends. He neither said nor did any thing with affectation, but used a simplicity, that was both natural to himself, and very easy to others: and though he never studied the modes of civility, or court breeding, yet he knew not what it was to be rude or

harsh with any, except he were impertinently addressed to in matters of justice; then he would raise his voice a little, and so shake off those importunities.

In his furniture, and the service of his table, and way of living, he liked the old plainness so well, that as he would set up none of the new fashions, so he rather affected a coarseness in the use of the old ones: which was more the effect of his philosophy than disposition, for he loved fine things too much at first. He was always of an equal temper, rather cheerful than merry. Many wondered to see the evenness of his deportment, in some very sad passages of his life.

Having lost one of his sons, the manner of whose death had some grievous circumstances in it, one coming to see him and condole, he said to him, "those were the effects of living long; such must look to see many sad and unacceptable things;" and having said that, he went to other discourses, with his ordinary freedom of mind; for though he had a temper so tender, that sad things were apt enough to make deep impressions upon him, yet the regard he had to the wisdom and providence of God, and the just estimate he made of external things, did to admiration maintain the tranquillity of his mind, and he gave no occasion by idleness to melancholy to corrupt his spirit, but by the perpetual bent of his thoughts, he knew well how to divert them from being oppressed with the excesses of sorrow.

He had a generous and noble idea of God in his mind, and this he found did above all other considerations preserve his quiet. And indeed that was so well established in him, that no accidents, how sudden soever, were observed to discompose him: of which an eminent man of that profession gave me

me this instance. In the year 1666, an opinion did run through the nation, that the end of the world² would come that year. This, whether set on by astrologers, or advanced by those who thought it might have some relation to the number of the beast in the revelation, or promoted by men of ill designs, to disturb the public peace, had spread mightily among the people; and judge Hale going that year the western circuit, it happened, that as he was on the bench at the assizes, a most terrible storm fell out very unexpectedly, accompanied with such flashes of lightening, and claps of thunder, that the like will hardly fall out in an age; upon which a whisper or a rumour ran through the crowd, that now was the world to end, and the day of judgment to begin, and at this there followed a general consternation in the whole assembly, and all men forgot the business they were met about, and betook themselves to their prayers: this, added to the horror raised by the storm, looked very dismally; in so much that my author, a man of no ordinary resolution, and firmness of mind, confessed it made a great impression on himself. But he told me, that he did observe the judge was not a whit affected, and was going on with the business of the court in his ordinary man-

² *End of the world.*] In Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 146, is inserted, what is called "a prophetic observation, copied from the dean's own hand." (Dr. Christopher Wren, dean of Windsor), "in a small note-book of his, written, as it should seem, in the year 1623. He died in 1658, viz. eight years before the fire of London." "*Latinæ literæ numerales nullæ sunt præter has septem nobis adhuc in usu quotidiano,*

MDCLXVI.

Note. That all the numeral letters in the Latin tongue, can make up but 1666; so that when the odd 666 are completed in the years of Christ, it may bode some ominous matter, and perhaps the last end."

ner;

ner; from which he made this conclusion, that his thoughts were so well fixed, that he believed if the world had been really to end, it would have given him no considerable disturbance.

But I shall now conclude all that I shall say concerning him, with what one of the greatest men of the profession of the law, sent me as an abstract of the character he had made of him, upon long observation, and much converse with him. It was sent me, that from thence, with the other materials, I might make such a representation of him to the world, as he indeed deserved; but I resolved not to shred it out in parcels, but to set it down entirely as it was sent me, hoping that as the reader will be much delighted with it, so the noble person that sent it, will not be offended with me for keeping it entire, and setting it in the best light I could. It begins abruptly, being designed to supply the defects of others, from whom I had earlier and more copious informations.

“ He would never be brought to discourse of public matters in private conversation; but in questions of law, when any young lawyer put a case to him, he was very communicative; especially while he was at the bar: but when he came to the bench, he grew more reserved, and would never suffer his opinion in any case to be known, till he was obliged to declare it judicially; and he concealed his opinion in great cases so carefully, that the rest of the judges in the same court could never perceive it: his reason was, because every judge ought to give sentence according to his own persuasion and conscience, and not to be swayed by any respect or deference to another man’s opinion: and by this means it happened sometimes, that when all the barons of the exchequer had delivered their opinions, and agreed in their reasons
and

and arguments, yet he coming to speak last, and differing in judgment from them, hath expressed himself with so much weight and solidity, that the barons have immediately retracted their votes, and concurred with him. He hath sat as a judge in all the courts of law, and in two of them as chief; but still wherever he sat, all business of consequence followed him, and no man was content to sit down by the judgment of any other court, till the case was brought before him, to see whether he were of the same mind: and his opinion being once known, men did readily acquiesce in it; and it was very rarely seen, that any man attempted to bring it about again, and he that did so, did it upon great disadvantages, and was always looked upon as a very contentious person; so that what Cicero says of Brutus, did very often happen to him, *Etiam quos contra statuit æquos placatosque dimisit.*

“ Nor did men reverence his judgment and opinion in courts of law only, but his authority was as great in courts of equity, and the same respect and submission was paid him there too. And this appeared not only in his own court of equity in the Exchequer chamber, but in the Chancery too; for thither he was often called to advise and assist the lord chancellor, or lord keeper for the time being; and if the cause were of difficult examination, or intricate and entangled with variety of settlements, no man ever shewed a more clear and discerning judgment: if it were of great value, and great persons interested in it, no man shewed greater courage and integrity in laying aside all respect of persons. When he came to deliver his opinion, he always put his discourse into such a method, that one part of it gave light to the other, and where the proceedings of Chancery might prove inconvenient to the subject, he never spared to observe and reprove them.

And

And from his observations and discourses, the Chancery hath taken occasion to establish many of those rules by which it governs itself at this day.

“ He did look upon equity as a part of the common law, and one of the grounds of it; and therefore, as near as he could, he did always reduce it to certain rules and principles, that men might study it as a science, and not think the administration of it had any thing arbitrary in it. Thus eminent was this man in every station, and into what court soever he was called, he quickly made it appear, that he deserved the chief seat there.

“ As great a lawyer as he was, he would never suffer the strictness of law to prevail against conscience; as great a chancellor as he was, he would make use of all the niceties and subtilties in law, when it tended to support right and equity. But nothing was more admirable in him, than his patience: he did not affect the reputation of quickness and dispatch, by a hasty and captious hearing of the counsel: he would bear with the meanest, and gave every man his full scope, thinking it much better to lose time than patience. In summing up of an evidence to a jury, he would always require the bar to interrupt him if he did mistake, and to put him in mind of it, if he did forget the least circumstance; some judges have been disturbed at this as a rudeness, which he always looked upon as a service and respect done to him.

“ His whole life was nothing else but a continual course of labour and industry; and when he could borrow any time from the public service, it was wholly employed either in philosophical or divine meditations, and even that was a public service too as it hath proved; for they have occasioned his writing of such treatises, as are become the choicest entertainment of wise and good men, and the world hath

hath reason to wish that more of them were printed. He that considers the active part of his life, and with what unwearied diligence and application of mind, he dispatched all mens' business which came under his care, will wonder how he could find any time for contemplation: he that considers again the various studies he passed through, and the many collections and observations he hath made, may as justly wonder how he could find any time for action: but no man can wonder at the exemplary piety and innocence of such a life so spent as this was, wherein as he was careful to avoid every idle word, so it is manifest he never spent an idle day. They who came far short of this great man, will be apt enough to think that this is a panegyrick, which indeed is a history, and but a little part of that history which was with great truth to be related of him. Men who despair of attaining such perfection, are not willing to believe that any man else did ever arrive at such a height.

“ He was the greatest lawyer of the age, and might have had what practice he pleased, but though he did most conscientiously affect the labours of his profession, yet, at the same time, he despised the gain of it, and of those profits which he would allow himself to receive, he always set apart a tenth penny for the poor, which he ever dispensed with that secrecy, that they who were relieved, seldom or never knew their benefactor. He took more pains to avoid the honours and preferments of the gown, than others do to compass them. His modesty was beyond all example; for where some men who never attained to half his knowledge, have been puffed up with a high conceit of themselves, and have affected all occasions of raising their own esteem by depreciating other men; he on the contrary was the most obliging man that ever practised:

practised: if a young gentleman happened to be retained to argue a point in law, where he was on the contrary side, he would very often mend the objections when he came to repeat them, and always commended the gentleman if there were room for it; and one good word of his was of more advantage to a young man, than all the favour of the court could be."

Having thus far pursued his history and character, in the public and exemplary parts of his life, without interrupting the thread of the relation, with what was private and domestic, I shall conclude with a short account of these.

He was twice married. His first wife was Anne, daughter of sir Henry Moor, of Faly, in Berkshire, grandchild to Sir Fr. Moor, serjeant at law, by her he had ten children; the four first died young, the other six lived to be all married, and he outlived them all, except his eldest daughter, and his youngest son, who are yet alive.

His eldest son Robert, married Frances, the daughter of sir Francis Chock, of Avington, in Berkshire; and they both dying in a little time one after another, left five children, two sons, Matthew and Gabriel, and three daughters, Anne, Mary, and Frances; and by the judge's advice, they both made him their executor; so he took his grandchildren into his own care, and among them he left his estate.

His second son Matthew, married Anne, the daughter of Mr. Mat. Simmond, of Hilsley, in Gloucestershire, who died soon after, and left one son behind him, named Matthew.

His third son Thomas, married Rebekah, the daughter of Christian le Brune, a Dutch merchant, and died without issue.

His fourth son Edward, married Mary, the daughter

daughter of Edmund Goodyere, esq. of Heythorp, in Oxfordshire, and still lives; he has two sons, and three daughters.

His eldest daughter Mary, was married to Edward Alderly, of Innishannon, in the county of Cork, in Ireland, who dying, left her with two sons, and three daughters; she is since married to Edward Stephens, son to Edward Stephens, esq. of Cherington, in Gloucestershire. His youngest daughter Elizabeth, was married to Edward Webb, esq. barrister at law; she died, leaving two children, a son and a daughter.

His second wife was Anne, the daughter of Mr. Joseph Bishop, of Faly, in Berkshire, by whom he had no children. He gives her a great character in his will, as a most dutiful, faithful, and loving wife, and therefore trusted the breeding of his grand-children to her care, and left her one of his executors, to whom he joined sir Robert Jenkinson and Mr. Gibbon. So much may suffice of those descended from him.

In after-times, it is not to be doubted, but it will be reckoned no small honor to derive from him: and this has made me more particular in reckoning up his issue. I shall next give an account of the issues of his mind, his books, that are either printed, or remain in manuscript. For the last of these, by his will he has forbid the printing of any of them after his death, except such as he should give order for in his life: but he seems to have changed his mind afterwards, and to have left it to the discretion of his executors, which of them might be printed; for though he does not express that, yet he ordered by a codicil, "that if any book of his writing, as well touching the common law, as other subjects, should be printed; then what should be given for the consideration of the copy, should be divided
into

into ten shares, of which he appointed seven to go among his servants, and three to those who had copied them out, and were to look after the impression." The reason, as I have understood it, that made him so unwilling to have any of his works printed after his death, was, that he apprehended in the licensing them, (which was necessary before any book could be lawfully printed, by a law then in force, but since his death determined) some things might have been struck out, or altered; which he had observed not without some indignation, had been done to a part of the Reports of one whom he had much esteemed.

This in matters of law, he said, might prove to be of such mischievous consequence, that he thereupon resolved none of his writings should be at the mercy of licensers; and therefore, because he was not sure that they should be published without expurgations or interpolations, he forbid the printing any of them, in which he afterwards made some alteration, at least he gave occasion by his codicil, to infer, that he altered his mind.

This I have the more fully explained, that his last will may be no way misunderstood, and that his worthy executors, and his hopeful grand-children, may not conclude themselves to be under an indispensable obligation, of depriving the public of his excellent writings.

A Catalogue of all his Books that are printed, and are to be Sold by William Shrowsbery, at the Sign of the Bible, in Duke-lane.

1. The Primitive Origination of Mankind, considered and examined according to the Light of Nature. Fol.
2. Contemplations, Moral and Divine. Part I. Octavo.
3. Contemplations, Moral and Divine. Part II.
4. Difficiles Nugæ, or Observations touching the Torricellian Experiment, and the various Solutions of the same, especially touching the Weight and Elasticity of the Air. Octavo.
5. An Essay touching the Gravitation, or Non-Gravitation of Fluid Bodies, and the Reasons thereof. Octavo.
6. Observations touching the Principles of Natural Motions, and especially touching Rarefaction, and Condensation; together with a Reply to certain Remarks, touching the Gravitation of Fluids. Octavo.
7. The Life and Death of Pomponius Atticus, written by his Contemporary and Acquaintance, Cornelius Nepos, translated out of his Fragments; together with Observations, political and moral, thereupon. Octavo.
8. Pleas of the Crown, or a Methodical Summary of the Principal Matters relating to that Subject. Octavo.

Manuscripts

Manuscripts of his not yet Published.

1. Concerning the Secondary Origination of Mankind. Fol.
2. Concerning Religion, 5 vols. in fol. viz.
 1. De Deo, Vox Metaphysica, pars 1 & 2.
 2. Pars 3. Vox Naturæ, Providentiæ, Ethicæ, Conscientiæ.
 3. Liber sextus, septimus, octavus.
 4. Pars 9. Concerning the Holy Scriptures, their Evidence and Authority.
 5. Concerning the Truth of the Holy Scripture, and the Evidences thereof.
3. Of Policy in Matters of Religion. Fol.
4. De Anima, to Mr. B. Fol.
5. De Anima, Transactions between him and Mr. B. Fol.
6. Tentamina, de ortu, Natura & Immortalitate Animæ. Fol.
7. Magnetismus Magneticus. Fol.
8. Magnetismus Physicus. Fol.
9. Magnetismus Divinus.
10. De generatione Animalium & Vegetabilium. Fol. Lat.
11. Of the Law of Nature. Fol.
12. A Letter of Advice to his Grand-children. Quarto.
13. Placita Coronæ. 7 vols. fol.
14. Preparatory Notes concerning the Rights of the Crown. Fol.
15. Incepta de Juribus Coronæ. Fol.
16. De Prerogativa Regis. Fol.
17. Preparatory Notes touching Parliamentary Proceedings. 2 vols. quarto.

18. Of

18. Of the Jurisdiction of the House of Lords.
Quarto.
19. Of the Jurisdiction of the Admiralty.
20. Touching Ports and Customs. Fol.
21. Of the Right of the Sea, and the Arms thereof,
and Custom. Fol.
22. Concerning the Advancement of Trade. Quarto.
23. Of Sheriff's Accounts. Fol.
24. Copies of Evidences. Fol.
25. Mr. Selden's Discourses. Octavo.
26. Excerpta ex Schedis Seldenianis.
27. Journal of the 18 and 21 Jacobi Regis. Quarto.
28. Great Common-place Book of Reports or Cases
in the Law, in Law French. Fol.

In Bundles.

- On Quod tibi fieri, &c. Matt. vii. 12.
 Touching Punishments, in relation to the Socinian
 Controversy.
 Policies of the Church of Rome.
 Concerning the Laws of England.
 Of the Amendment of the Laws of England.
 Touching Provision for the Poor.
 Upon Mr. Hobbs's Manuscript.
 Concerning the Time of the Abolition of the
 Jewish Laws.

In Quarto.

- Quod sit Deus.
 Of the State and Condition of the Soul and Body
 after Death.
 Notes concerning Matters of Law.

To these I shall add the Catalogue of the Manuscripts, which he left to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's-Inn, with that Part of his Will that concerns them.

“ Item, as a testimony of my honour and respect to the society of Lincoln's-Inn, where I had the greatest part of my education; I give and bequeath to that honourable society the several manuscript books, contained in a schedule annexed to my will: they are a treasure worth having and keeping, which I have been near forty years in gathering, with very great industry and expence. My desire is, that they be kept safe, and all together, in remembrance of me. They were fit to be bound in leather, and chained, and kept in Archives. I desire they may not be lent out, or disposed of: only if I happen hereafter to have any of my posterity of that society, that desires to transcribe any book, and give very good caution to restore it again in a prefixed time, such as the benchers of that society in council shall approve of; then, and not otherwise, only one book at one time may be lent out to them by the society; so that there be no more but one book of those books abroad out of the library at one time. They are a treasure that are not fit for every man's view; nor is every man capable of making use of them: only I would have nothing of these books printed, but entirely preserved together, for the use of the industrious learned members of that society.”

A Catalogue of the Books given by him to Lincoln's-Inn, according the Schedule annexed to his Will.

Placita de tempore Regis Johannis. 1 vol. stitched.

Placita coram Rege E. 1. 2 vols.

Placita coram Rege E. 2. 1 vol.

Placita coram Rege E. 3. 3 vols.

Placita coram Rege R. 2. 1 vol.

Placita coram Rege H. 4. H. 5. 1 vol.

Placita de Banco, E. 1. ab anno 1. ad annum 21.
1 vol.

Transcripts of many Pleas, coram Rege & de Banco
E. 1. 1 vol.

The Pleas in the Exchequer, stiled Communia,
from 1 E. 3. to 46 E. 3. 5 vols.

Close Rolls of King John, verbatim, of the most
material Things. 1 vol.

The principal Matters in the Close and Patent
Rolls, of H. 3. Transcribed verbatim, from
9 H. 3. to 56 H. 3. 5 vols. Vellum, marked
K. L.

The principal Matters in the Close and Patent
Rolls, E. 1. with several Copies and Abstracts
of Records. 1 vol. marked F.

A long Book of Abstracts of Records, by me.

Close and Patent Rolls, from 1 to 10 E. 3. and
other Records of the Time of H. 3. 1 vol.
marked W.

Close Rolls of 15 E. 3. with other Records. 1 vol.
marked N.

Close Rolls from 17 to 38 E. 3. 2 vols.

Close and Patent Rolls, from 40 E. 3. to 50 E. 3.
1 vol. marked B.

Close Rolls of E. 2. with other Records. 1 vol. R.

Close and Patent Rolls, and Charter Rolls in the Time of King John for the Clergy. 1 vol.

A great Volume of Records of several Natures, G. The Leagues of the Kings of England, tempore E. 1. E. 2. E. 3. 1 vol.

A Book of Ancient Leagues and Military Provisions. 1 vol.

The Reports of Iters, of Derby, Nottingham and Bedford, transcribed. 1 vol.

Itinera Forest de Pickering & Lancaster, transcript: ex Originali. 1 vol.

An Ancient Reading, very large, upon Charta de Forestæ, and of the Forest-Laws.

The Transcript of the Iter Foresta de Dean. 1 vol.

Quo Warranto and Liberties of the County of Gloucester, with the Pleas of the Chace of Kingswood. 1 vol.

Transcript of the Black Book of the Admiralty, Laws of the Army, Impositions and several Honours. 1 vol.

Records of Patents, Inquisitions, &c. of the County of Leicester. 1 vol.

Muster and Military Provisions of all Sorts, extracted from the Records. 1 vol.

Gervasius Tilburiensis, or the Black Book of the Exchequer. 1 vol.

The King's Title to the Pre-emption of Tin. A thin vol.

Calender of the Records in the Tower. A small vol.

A Miscellany of divers Records, Orders, and other Things of various Natures, marked E. 1 vol.

Another of the like Nature, in Leather Cover. 1 vol.

A Book of divers Records and Things relating to the Chancery. 1 vol.

Titles of Honour and Pedigrees, especially touching Clifford. 1 vol.

History of the Marches of Wales, collected by me. 1 vol.

Certain Collections touching Titles of Honour. 1 vol.

Copies of several Records touching Premunire. 1 vol.

Extract of Commissions, tempore H. 7. H. 8. R. and the Proceedings in the Court Military, between Ray and Ramsey. 1 vol.

Petitions in Parliament tempore, E. i. E. 2. E. 3. H. 4. 3 vols.

Summons of Parliament, from 49 H. 3. to 22 E. 4. 3 vols.

The Parliament Rolls, from the Beginning of E. 1. to the End of R. 3. In 19 vols. viz. One of E. 1. One of E. 2. with the Ordinations; Two of E. 3. Three of R. 2. Two of H. 4. Two of H. 5. Four of H. 6. Three of E. 4. One of R. 3. all Transcribed at large.

Mr. Elsing's Book, touching Proceedings in Parliament. 1 vol.

Noy's Collection, touching the King's Supplies. 1 vol. stitched.

A Book of various Collections out of Records and Register of Canterbury, and Claymes at the Coronation of R. 2. 1 vol.

Transcript of Bishop Usher's Notes, principally concerning Chronology. 3 large vols.

A Transcript out of Dooms-Day-Book of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, and of some Pipe-Rolls, and old Accompts of the Customs. 1 vol.

Extracts and Collections out of Records, touching Titles of Honour. 1 vol.

- Extracts of Pleas, Patents, and Close Rolls, tempore H. 3. E. 1. E. 2. E. 3. and some old Antiquities of England. 1 vol.
- Collections and Memorials of many Records and Antiquities. 1 vol. Seldeni.
- Calendar of Charters and Records in the Tower, touching Gloucestershire.
- Collection of Notes and Records of various Natures, marked M. 1 vol. Seldeni.
- Transcript of the Iters of London, Kent, Cornwall, 1 vol.
- Extracts out of the Leiger-Books of Battell, Evesham, Winton, &c. 1 vol. Seldeni.
- Copies of the principal Records in the Red-Book, in the Exchequer, 1 vol.
- Extracts of Records and Treatises, relating to Sea-Affairs, 1 vol.
- Records touching Customs, Ports, Partition of the Lands of Gil. De Clare, &c.
- Extract of Pleas in the Time of R. 1. King John, E. 1, &c. 1 vol.
- Cartæ Antiquæ in the Tower, transcribed, in 2 vols.
- Chronological Remembrances, extracted out of the Notes of bishop Usher, 1 vol. stitched.
- Inquisitionibus de Legibus Walliæ, 1 vol.
- Collections, or Records, touching Knighthood. Titles of Honour. Seldeni. 1 vol.
- Mathematics and Fortifications, 1 vol.
- Processus Curiae Militaris, 1 vol.
- A Book of Honour, stitched, 1 vol.
- Extracts out of the Registry of Canterbury.
- Copies of several Records, touching Proceedings in the Military-Court, 1 vol.
- Abstracts of Summons and Rolls of Parliament, out of the Book of Dunelm, and some Records alphabetically digested. 1 vol.

Abstracts of divers Records in the Office of First Fruits. 1 vol. stitched.

Mathematical and Astrological Calculations. 1 vol.

A Book of Divinity.

Two large Repositories of Records, marked A. and B.

(All those above are in Folio.)

The Proceedings of the Forests of Windsor, Dean, and Essex. In Quarto, 1 vol.

(Those that follow, are most of them in Vellum, or Parchment.)

Two Books of old Statutes, one ending H. 7. the other 2 H. 5. with the Sums. 2 vols.

Five last Years, E. 2. 1 vol.

Reports tempore, E. 2. 1 vol.

The Year-Book of R. 2. and some others. 1 vol.

An old Chronicle, from the Creation, to E. 3. 1 vol.

A Mathematical Book, especially of Optiques. 1 vol.

A Dutch Book of Geometry, and Fortification.

Murti Benevenlani Geometrica. 1 vol.

Reports tempore E. 1. under Titles. 1 vol.

An Old Register, and some Pleas. 1 vol.

Bernardi Bratrack Peregrinatio. 1 vol.

Iter Cantii and London, and some Reports, tempore E. 2. 1 vol.

Reports, tempore E. 1. & E. 2. 1 vol.

Leiger-Book, Abbatiae De Bello.

Isidori Opera.

Liber Altercationis, & Christianae Philosophiae, contra Paganos.

Historia Petri Manducatorii.

Hornii Astronomica.

Historia

Historia Ecclesiæ Dunelmensis.

Holandi Chymica.

De Alchymia Scriptoris.

The Black Book of the New Law, collected by me, and digested into alphabetical Titles, written with my own Hand, which is the Original Copy.

MATTHEW HALE.

CON.

CONCLUSION.

THUS lived and died sir Matthew Hale, the renowned lord chief justice of England. He had one of the blessings of virtue in the highest measure of any of the age, that does not always follow it, which was, that he was universally much valued and admired by men of all sides and persuasions: for as none could hate him but for his justice and virtues, so the great estimation he was generally in, made, that few durst undertake to defend so ingrateful a paradox, as any thing said to lessen him would have appeared to be. His name is scarce ever mentioned since his death, without particular accents of singular respect. His opinion in points of law generally passes as an uncontrollable authority, and is often pleaded in all the courts of justice: and all that knew him well, do still speak of him as one of the perfectest patterns of religion and virtue they ever saw.

The commendations given him by all sorts of people, are such, that I can hardly come under the censures of this age, for any thing I have said concerning him; yet if this book lives to after-times, it will be looked on perhaps as a picture, drawn more according to fancy and invention, than after the life; if it were not that those who knew him well, establishing its credit in the present age, will make it pass down to the next with a clearer authority.

I shall pursue his praise no further in my own words, but shall add what the present lord chancellor of England said concerning him, when he delivered

delivered the commission to the lord chief justice Rainsford, who succeeded him in that office, which he began in this manner.

“ The vacancy of the seat of the chief justice of this court, and that by a way and means so unusual, as the resignation of him, that lately held it; and this too proceeding from so deplorable a cause, as the infirmity of that body, which began to forsake the ablest mind that ever presided here, hath filled the kingdom with lamentations, and given the king many and pensive thoughts, how to supply that vacancy again.” And a little after, speaking to his successor, he said, “ the very labours of the place, and that weight and fatigue of business which attends it, are no small discouragements; for what shoulders may not justly fear that burthen which made him stoop that went before you? Yet, I confess, you have a greater discouragement than the mere burthen of your place, and that is the unimitable example of your last predecessor: *onerosum est succedere bono principi*, was the saying of him in the panegyric: and you will find it so too, that are to succeed such a chief justice, of so indefatigable an industry, so invincible a patience, so exemplary an integrity, and so magnanimous a contempt of worldly things, without which no man can be truly great; and to all this a man that was so absolute a master of the science of the law, and even of the most abstruse and hidden parts of it, that one may truly say of his knowledge in the law, what St. Austin said of St. Hierome’s knowledge in divinity, *Quod Hieronimus nescivit, nullus mortalium unquam scivit*. And therefore the king would not suffer himself to part with so great a man, till he had placed upon him all the marks of bounty and esteem, which his retired and weak condition was capable of.”

To

To this high character, in which the expressions, as they become the eloquence of him who pronounced them, so they do agree exactly to the subject, without the abatements that are often to be made for rhetoric, I shall add that part of the lord chief justice's answer, in which he speaks of his predecessor.

“ — A person in whom his eminent virtues, and deep learning, have long managed a contest for the superiority, which is not decided to this day; nor will it ever be determined, I suppose, which shall get the upper hand. A person that has sat in this court these many years, of whose actions there I have been an eye and ear-witness, that by the greatness of his learning always charmed his auditors to reverence and attention: a person of whom I think I may boldly say, that as former times cannot shew any superior to him, so I am confident succeeding and future time will never shew any equal. These considerations, heightened by what I have heard from your lordship concerning him, made me anxious and doubtful, and put me to a stand, how I should succeed so able, so good, and so great a man. It doth very much trouble me, that I, who in comparison of him, am but like a candle lighted in the sunshine, or like a glow-worm at mid-day, should succeed so great a person, that is and will be so eminently famous to all posterity: and I must ever wear this motto in my breast to comfort me, and in my actions to excuse me:

Sequitur, quamvis non passibus æquis.”

Thus were panegyrics made upon him while yet alive, in that same court of justice which he had so worthily governed. As he was honoured while he lived, so he was much lamented when he died:
and

and this will still be acknowledged as a just inscription for his memory, though his modesty forbid any such to be put on his tombstone :

THAT HE WAS ONE OF THE GREATEST PATTERNS THIS AGE HAS AFFORDED, WHETHER IN HIS PRIVATE DEPARTMENT AS A CHRISTIAN, OR IN HIS PUBLIC EMPLOYMENTS, EITHER AT THE BAR OR ON THE BENCH.

ADVERTISEMENT

The following Narrative, is a representation of
An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip
Henry, Minister of the Gospel, near St. Michael's
in Shropshire, who died June 24, 1800, in the
sixty-fifth year of his age, with Dr. Henry's De-
scription.

PHILIP HENRY.

London. Printed by J. Johnson, in Pall-mall, nearly opposite to the Theatre Royal, and other printing papers, at the press of an excellent man, whom it describes, by his son, Mr. Matthew Henry, an eminent Presbyterian Minister. The reader will find, that it abounds, since it too largely, in certain qualifications of expression, introduced into religious subjects, and affected by the Figurative Diction, which perhaps have rendered its service either to theology or good sense. But the plain Christian moderation, and good sense, which pervade the whole, have induced the editor, who thought it proper, to publish the following notice.

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PHILIP HENRY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Narrative is a republication of *An Account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip Henry, Minister of the Gospel, near Whitchurch in Shropshire, who died June 24, 1696, in the sixty-fifth year of his age; with Dr. Bates's Dedication: the second edition, corrected and amended.* London. 1699. It was compiled principally from the diary, and other private papers, of the pious and excellent man whom it describes, by his son, Mr. Matthew Henry, an eminent Presbyterian Minister. The reader will find, that it abounds, somewhat too largely, in certain quaintnesses of expression, introduced into religious subjects, and *affected* by the Puritanical Divines, which perhaps have rendered no service either to theology or good taste. But the piety, Christian moderation, and good sense, which pervade the whole, have induced the editor, notwithstanding its length, to publish the Memoir intire.

ADVERTISEMENT

The following Narrative is a reproduction of
an account of the Life and Death of Mr. Philip
Henry, Minister of the Gospel, near Hildesheim
in Saxony, who died June 24, 1806, in the
57th year of his age, with Dr. Huter's De-
scription: It is carefully revised and corrected
London, 1809. It is compiled principally from
the diary and other private papers of the pious
and excellent man whom it describes, by his son,
Mr. Augustus Henry, an eminent Presbyterian Mi-
nister. The reader will find that it abounds
nowhere too largely, in certain particulars of
experience introduced into religious subjects, and
affected by the formalist spirit, which perhaps
have rendered no service other to theology or
good taste. But the pure Christian meditation
and good sense which pervade the whole have
induced the editor, notwithstanding its length, to
publish the Memoir entire.

TO HIS MUCH HONOURED FRIEND,

SIR HENRY ASHURST, BARONET.

SIR,

THE ministers of the Gospel are, in the Scripture language, *stars in the right hand of Christ*, to signify their diffusive light, and beneficial influences. As in the future state of the resurrection, *some stars shall differ from others in glory*; so in the present state of the regeneration, some ministers are distinguished from others, by a brighter eminence in their endowments, and a more powerful emanation of light in their preaching. Of this select number was Mr. Philip Henry, in whom there was a union of those real excellencies of parts, learning, and divine graces, that signalized him among his brethren. This does evidently appear in the narrative of his life, drawn by one very fit to do it: as having had intire knowledge of him, by long and intimate conversation; and having by his holy instructions, and the impression of his example, been made partaker of the same sanctifying spirit. The describing the external actions of saints, without observing the holy principles and affections from whence they derived their life and purity, is a defective and irregular representation of them. It is as if an account were given of the riches and fecundity of the earth, from the flowers and fruits that grow upon it, without considering the

the mines of precious metals contained in its bosom. Now only an inward Christian that has felt the power of religion in his heart, can from the reflection upon himself, and his uncounterfeit experience, discover the operations of grace in the breasts of others.

Mr. Henry was dedicated to the service of Christ by his mother, in his tender age. His first love and desires, (when he was capable to make a judicious choice) were set upon God. He entered early into the ministry, and consecrated all the powers of his soul, understanding, memory, will, and affections, with his time and strength, to the service of Christ. And such was the grace and favour of God to him, that he lost no days in his flourishing age, by satisfying the voluptuous appetites; nor in his declining age by diseases and infirmities; but incessantly applied himself to his spiritual work. He was called to a private place in Wales, but his shining worth could not be shaded in a corner. A confluence of people from other parts attended on his ministry. Indeed the word of truth that dies in the mouths of the cold and careless, (for they are not all saints that serve in the sanctuary) had life and spirit in his preaching: for it proceeded from a heart burning with zeal for the honour of Christ and salvation of souls. Accordingly he suited his discourses to the wise and the weak: and imitated the prophet, who contracted his stature to the dead body of the widow's son, applying his mouth to the mouth of the child, to inspire the breath of life into him. The poor and despised were instructed by him, with the same compassionate love and diligence as the rich, notwithstanding the civil distinction of persons, which will shortly vanish for ever: for he considered their souls were of the same precious and
immortal

immortal value. In the administration of the Lord's Supper, he expressed the just temperament of sweetness and severity: with melting compassion he invited all relenting and returning sinners to come to Christ, and receive their pardon sealed with his blood: but he was so jealous of the honour of Christ, that he deterred, by the most fearful consequences, the rebellious that indulged their lusts, from coming to partake of the feast of the unspotted Lamb. He was not allured by temporal advantage (which is the mark of a mercenary) to leave the first place, where by the divine disposal, he was seated.

When the fatal Bartholomew-day came, though he had fair hopes of preferment, by his attendance upon the king and duke of York, in their early age, of which the remembrance might have been revived; yet he was guided by a superior spirit, and imitated the self-denial of Moses, (a duty little understood, and less practised, by the earthly-minded) *rather choosing to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the good things of this world.* As the light of heaven, when the air is stormy and disturbed, does not lose the rectitude of its rays: so his enlightened conscience did not bend in compliance with the terms of conformity, but he obeyed its sincere judgment.

After his being expelled from the place of his public ministry, his deportment was becoming a son of peace. He refused not communion with the Church of England, in the ordinances of the Gospel, so far as his conscience permitted. Yet he could not desert the duty of his office, to which he was, with sacred solemnity set apart. He was faithful to improve opportunities for serving the interest of souls, notwithstanding the severities inflicted on him. And after the restoring our free-

dom of preaching, he continued in the performance of his delightful work, till death put a period to his labours.

After this account of him as *a minister of Christ*, I will glance upon his carriage as *a Christian*. His conversation was so holy and regular, so free from taint, that he was unaccusable by his enemies: they could only object his nonconformity as a crime. But his vigilant and tender conscience discovered the spots of sin in himself, which so affected his soul, that he desired repentance might accompany him to the gate of heaven: an excellent testimony of humility, the inseparable character of a saint. His love to God was supreme, which was declared by his chosen hours of communion with him every day. The union of affections, is naturally productive of union in conversation. Accordingly our Saviour promises, *he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father; and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him*: and he repeats the promise, *if a man love me, he will keep my words: and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and make our abode with him*. To his special and singular love to God, was joined a universal love to men: he did good to all according to his ability. His forgiving of injuries, that rare and difficult duty, was eminently conspicuous in the sharpest provocations. When he could not excuse the offence, he would pardon the offender, and strive to imitate the perfect model of charity expressed in our suffering Saviour: who in the extremity of his sufferings, when resentments are most quick and sensible, prayed for his cruel persecutors. His filial trust in God was correspondent to God's fatherly providence to him. This was his support in times of trial, and maintained an equal temper in his mind, and

and tenor in his conversation. In short, he led a life of evangelical perfection, most worthy to be honourably preserved in the memory of future times. The following narrative of it, if read with an observing eye, how instructive and affecting will it be to ministers, and apt to transform them into his likeness!

Thus, sir, I have given a short view of the life of that man for whom you had such a high veneration and dear love. It argues a clearer spirit and a diviner temper than is usual in persons of conspicuous quality, when holiness is so despicably mean in the esteem of carnal men, to value it above all titles and treasures, and the perishing pride of this world. I am persuaded it will be very pleasing to you, that your name and excellent Mr. Henry's, are joined in the same papers. I am,

SIR,

Your very humble and faithful servant,

WILLIAM BATES.

and later in his conversation. In short, he led
a life of evangelistic activity, most worthy to be
honorably preserved in the memory of those
times. The following narrative of it is read with
an interest that is now increasing, and affording
a new and interesting view of the man.

It is not that I have given a short view of the life
of that man for whom you had such a high regard
and dear love. It is not a career story
and a divine teacher, than is usual in persons of
exceptional quality, who holiness is so draped
in the eyes of the world of carnal men, to whom it
is all tales and treasures, and the possessing
of the world. I am persuaded it will be
very pleasing to see that your name and excellent
life should be joined in the same page.

Yours very truly,
WILLIAM BATES

WILLIAM BATES

PREFACE

PREFACE.

THAT which we aim at in this undertaking, and which we would set before us, at our entrance upon it, is, not so much to embalm the memory of this good man (though that also is blessed) as to exhibit to the world a pattern of that primitive Christianity, which all that knew him well, observed to be exemplified in him, while he lived; and when they saw the end of his conversation, as it were with one consent, desired a public and lasting account of; or rather *demanded* it, as a just debt owing to the world, by those into whose hands his papers came, as judging such an account likely to conduce much to the glory of God's grace, and to the edification of many, especially of those that were acquainted with him. He was one whom the divine providence did not call out (as neither did his own inclination lead him) to any very public scene of action: he was none of the forward men of the age, that make themselves talked of: the world scarce knew that there was such a man in it. But in his low and narrow sphere he was a burning and shining light, and therefore we think his pious example is the more adapted to general use, especially consisting not in the ecstasies and raptures of zeal and devotion, which are looked upon rather as admirable than imitable; but in the long series of an even, regular, prudent, and well-ordered conversation, which he had in the world, and in the ordinary business of it, *with simplicity and godly sincerity; not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God.* It hath been said, that quiet
and

and peaceable reigns, though they are the best to live in, yet they are the worst to write of, as yielding least variety of matter for the historian's pen to work upon: but *a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty*, being the sum and substance of practical Christianity, the recommending of the example of such a life, in the common and familiar instances of it; together with the kind and gracious providences of God attending it, may be, if not as diverting to the curious, yet every whit as useful and instructive to the pious readers.

If any suggest, that the design of this attempt is to credit and advance a party, let them know, that Mr. Henry was a man of no party; but true Catholic Christianity (not debauched by bigotry, nor leavened by any private opinions or interests) was his very temper and genius. According to the excellent and royal laws of this holy religion, his life was led with a strict and conscientious adherence to truth and equity; a great tenderness and inoffensiveness to all mankind; and a mighty tincture of sincere piety and devotedness to God: and according to those sacred rules we shall endeavour in justice to him, as well as to our reader, to represent him in the following account; and if any thing should drop from our pen, which might justly give offence to any, (which we promise industriously to avoid) we desire it may be looked upon as a false stroke; and so far not truly representing him, who was so *blameless and harmless, and without rebuke*. Much of our materials for this structure we have out of his own papers, (especially his diary) for by them his picture may be drawn nearest to the life, and from thence we may take the truest idea of him, and of the spirit he was of. Those notes being intended for his own private use in the review, and never communicated to any person

son whatsoever; and appearing here (as they ought to do) in their own native dress¹, the candid reader will excuse it, if sometimes the expressions should seem abrupt: they are the genuine, unforced, and unstudied breathings of a gracious soul; and we hope will be rather the more acceptable to those, who through grace, are conscious to themselves of the same devout and pious motions; for as in water, *face answers to face*, so doth one sanctified and renewed soul to another; and (as Mr. Baxter observes in his preface to Mr. Clark's Lives) "God's graces are much the same in all his holy ones;" and therefore we must not "think that such instances as these are extraordinary rarities; but God hath in wonderful mercy raised up many, by whose graces even this earth is perfumed and enlightened." But if one star be allowed to differ from another star in glory; perhaps our reader will say, when he hath gone through the following account, that Mr. Henry may be ranked among those of the first magnitude.

¹ *Native dress.*] It must be mentioned, though it cannot be told without regret, that this *native dress* has not in all cases been so carefully preserved as it might have been wished. One instance, at least, will be specified below, (in the last chapter) where the biographer has departed from the original diary, for which departure, it should seem, no honourable motives can be easily assigned.

PHILIP HENRY.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. Philip Henry's Birth, Parentage, early Piety, and Education at School.

HE was born at Whitehall, in Westminster, on Wednesday, August 24, 1631, being Bartholomew-day. I find usually in his diary, some pious remark or other upon the annual return of his birth-day: as in one year he notes, that the Scripture mentions but two who observed their birth-day with feasting and joy, and they were neither of them copies to be written after: namely, Pharaoh, (Gen. xl. 20.) and Herod, (Matt. xiv. 6.) "But," saith he, "I rather observe it as a day of mourning and humiliation, because shapen in iniquity, and conceived in sin." And when he had completed the thirtieth year of his age, he noted this, "so old, and no older, Alexander was, when he had conquered the great world; but," saith he, "I have not yet subdued the little world, myself." At his thirty-third year he hath this humble reflection: "a long time lived to small purpose: what shall I do to redeem it?" And at another, "I may mourn as Cæsar did when he reflected upon Alexander's early atchievements, that others, younger than I am, have done much more than I have done for God, the God of my life." And
(to

(to mention no more) when he had lived forty-two years, he thus writes: "I would be loth to live it over again, least, instead of making it better, I should make it worse: and besides, every year and day spent on earth is lost in heaven." This last note minds me of a passage I have heard him tell of a friend of his, who being grown into years, was asked how old he was, and answered, "on the wrong side of fifty: which," said Mr. Henry, "he should not have said; for if he was going to heaven, it was the right side of fifty."

He always kept a will by him ready made, and it was his custom yearly, upon the return of his birth-day, to review, and (if occasion were) to renew and alter it: for it is *good* to do that at a *set* time, which it is *very good* to do at *some* time. The last will he made bears date, "this 24th day of August, 1695, being the day of the year on which I was born, 1631, and also the day of the year on which, by law, I died, as did also near two thousand faithful ministers of Jesus Christ, 1662;" alluding to that clause in the act of uniformity, which disposeth of the places and benefices of ministers not conforming, "as if they were naturally dead."

His father's name was John Henry, the son of Henry Williams, of Britton's Ferry, betwixt Neath and Swansea, in Glamorganshire. According to the old Welsh custom (some say conformable to that of the ancient Hebrews, but now almost in all places laid aside) the father's Christian name was the son's surname. He had left his native country, and his father's house, very young, unprovided for by his relations; but it pleased God to bless his ingenuity and industry, with a considerable income afterwards, which enabled him to live comfortably himself, to bring up his children well, and to be
kind

kind to many of his relations; but public events making against him at his latter end, when he died he left little behind him for his children; but God graciously took care of them. Providence brought this Mr. John Henry, when he was young, to be the earl of Pembroke's gentleman, whom he served many years. The earl coming to be lord chamberlain, preferred him to be the king's servant. He was first made keeper of the orchard at Whitehall, and afterwards page of the back stairs to the king's second son, James, duke of York, which place obliged him to a personal attendance upon the duke in his chamber. He lived and died a courtier, a hearty mourner for his royal master, king Charles the first, whom he did not long survive. He continued, during all the war time, in his house at Whitehall, though the profits of his places ceased. The king passing by his door, under a guard, to take water, when he was going to Westminster, to that which they called his trial, enquired for his old servant, Mr. John Henry, who was ready to pay his due respects to him, and prayed God "to bless his majesty, and to deliver him out of the hands of his enemies;" for which the guard had like to have been rough upon him.

His mother was Mrs. Magdalen Rochdale, of the parish of St. Martins-in-the-Fields, in Westminster. She was a virtuous, pious gentlewoman, and one that feared God above many. She was altogether dead to the vanities and pleasures of the court, though she lived in the midst of them. She looked well to the ways of her household; prayed with them daily, catechized her children, and taught them the good knowledge of the Lord betimes. I have heard him speak of his learning Mr. Perkins's *Six Principles*, when he was very young;

young; and he often mentioned, with thankfulness to God, his great happiness in having such a mother, who was to him as Lois and Eunice were to Timothy, acquainting him with the Scriptures from his childhood; and there appearing in him early inclinations both to learning and piety, she devoted him in his tender years to the service of God, in the work of the ministry. She died of a consumption, March 6, 1645, leaving behind her only this son and five daughters. A little before she died, she had this saying, "my head is in heaven, and my heart is in heaven; it is but one step more, and I shall be there too."

His susceptors in baptism, were Philip, earl of Pembroke, (who gave him his name, and was kind to him as long as he lived, as was also his son Philip after him) James, earl of Carlisle, and the countess of Salisbury.

Prince Charles and the duke of York being somewhat near of an age to him, he was in his childhood very much an attendant upon them in their play, and they were often with him at his father's house, and were wont to tell him what preferment he should have at court, as soon as he was fit for it. He kept a book to his dying day, which the duke of York gave him; and I have heard him bewail the loss of two curious pictures, which he gave him likewise. Archbishop Laud took a particular kindness to him when he was a child, because he would be very officious to attend at the water-gate (which was part of his father's charge in Whitehall) to let the archbishop through when he came late from council, to cross the water to Lambeth.

These circumstances of his childhood he would sometimes speak of among his friends, not as glorying in them, but taking occasion from thence to bless

bleſs God for his deliverance from the ſnares of the court; in the miſt of which it is ſo very hard to maintain a good conſcience and the power of religion, that it hath been ſaid (though bleſſed be God, it is not a rule without exception) *creat ex aula qui velit eſſe pius*. The breaking up and ſcattering of the court, by the calamities of 1641, as it daſhed the expectations of his court-preferments, ſo it prevented the danger of court-entanglements: and though it was not, like Moſes's, a choice of his own, when come to years, to quit the court; yet when he was come to years, he always expreſſed a great ſatisfaction in his removal from it, and bleſſed God, who choſe his inheritance ſo much better for him.

Yet it may not be improper to obſerve here what was obvious, as well as amiable, to all who converſed with him; viz. that he had the moſt ſweet and obliging air of courteſy and civility that could be; which ſome attributed in part to his early education at court. His mien and carriage was always ſo very decent and reſpectful, that it could not but win the hearts of all he had to do with. Never was any man further from that rudeneſs and moroſeneſs which ſome ſcholars, and too many that profeſs religion, either wilfully affect, or careleſſly allow themſelves in, ſometimes to the reproach of their profeſſion. It is one of the laws of our holy religion, exemplified in the converſation of this good man, to *honour all men*. Sanctified civility is a great ornament to Chriſtianity. It was a ſaying he often uſed, “religion doth not deſtroy good manners;” and yet he was very far from any thing of vanity in apparel, or formality of compliment in addreſs; but his converſation was all natural and eaſy to himſelf and others, and nothing appeared in him, which even a ſevere
critic

critic could justly call *affected*. This temper of his tended very much to the adorning of the doctrine of God our Saviour; and the general transcript of such an excellent copy, would do much towards the healing of those wounds which religion hath received in the house of her friends by the contrary. But to return to his story.

The first Latin school he went to was at St. Martin's church, under the teaching of one Mr. Bonner. Afterwards he was removed to Battersea, where one Mr. Wells was his school-master. The grateful mention which in some of his papers he makes of these that were the guides and instructors of his childhood and youth, brings to mind that French proverb to this purpose: "to father, teacher, and God all-sufficient, none can render equivalent."

But in the year 1643, when he was about twelve years old, he was admitted into Westminster-school, in the fourth form, under Mr. Thomas Vincent, then usher, whom he would often speak of, as a most able diligent school-master; and one who grieved so much at the dulness and non-proficiency of any of his scholars, that falling into a consumption, I have heard Mr. Henry say of him, "that he even killed himself with false Latin."

Awhile, after he was taken into the upper school, under Mr. Richard Busby, (afterwards Dr. Busby) and in October, 1645, he was admitted king's scholar, and was first of the election, partly by his own merit, and partly by the interest of the earl of Pembroke.

Here he profited greatly in school-learning, and all his days retained his improvements therein to admiration. When he was in years, he would readily in discourse quote passages out of the classic authors that were not common, and had them *ad*

anguem, and yet rarely used any such things in his preaching, (though sometimes, if very apposite, he inserted them in his notes.) He was very ready and exact in the Greek accents, the quantities of words, and all the several kinds of Latin verse; and often pressed it upon young scholars, in the midst of their university-learning, not to forget their school-authors.

Here and before, his usual recreation at vacant times was, either reading the printed accounts of public occurrences, or attending the courts at Westminster Hall, to hear the trials and arguments there, which I have heard him say, he hath often done to the loss of his dinner, and oftener of his play.

But *paulo majora canamus*. Soon after those unhappy wars began, there was a daily morning-lecture set up at the abbey-church, between six and eight of the clock, and preached by seven worthy members of the assembly of divines in course, viz. Mr. Marshal, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Herl, Dr. Staunton, Mr. Nye, Mr. Whitaker, and Mr. Hill. It was the request of his pious mother to Mr. Busby, that he would give her son leave to attend that lecture daily, which he did, not abating any thing of his school-exercise, in which he kept pace with the rest; but only dispensing with his absence for that hour: and the Lord was pleased to make good impressions on his soul, by the sermons he heard there. His mother also took him with her every Thursday to Mr. Case's lecture at St. Martin's. On the Lord's days he sat under the powerful ministry of Mr. Stephen Marshal, in the morning, at New Chapel; in the afternoon, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, (which was their parish church). In the former place, Mr. Marshal preached long from Phil. ii. 5, 6, &c. in the latter
from

from John viii. 36. of our freedom by Christ. This minister, and this ministry, he would to his last speak of with great respect, and thankfulness to God, as that by which he was, through grace, in the beginning of his days begotten again to a lively hope. I have heard him speak of it, as the saying of some wise men at that time, "that if all the presbyterians had been like Mr. Stephen Marshal, and all the independents like Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, and all the episcopal men like archbishop Usher, the breaches of the church would soon have been healed." He also attended constantly upon the monthly fasts at St. Margaret's, where the best and ablest ministers of England preached before the then house of commons; and the service of the day was carried on with great strictness and solemnity, from eight in the morning till four in the evening. It was his constant practice, from eleven or twelve years old, to write (as he could) all the sermons he heard, which he kept very carefully, transcribed many of them fair over after, and notwithstanding his many removes they are yet forth coming.

At these monthly fasts (as he himself hath recorded it) he had often sweet meltings of soul in prayer, and confession of sin, (particularly once with special remark, when Mr. William Bridge, of Yarmouth, prayed) and many warm and lively truths came home to his heart, and he daily increased in that wisdom and knowledge which is to salvation. Read his reflections upon this, which he wrote many years after: "if ever any child," saith he, "such as I then was, between the tenth and fifteenth years of my age, enjoyed line upon line, precept upon precept, I did. And was it in vain? I trust not altogether in vain. My soul rejoiceth and is glad at the remembrance of it:
the

the word distilled as the dew, and dropt as the rain. I loved it, and loved the messengers of it; their very feet were beautiful to me. And, Lord, what a mercy was it, that at a time when the poor countries were laid waste, when the noise of drums and trumpets, and the clattering of arms was heard there, and the way to Sion mourned, that then my lot should be where there was peace and quietness, where the voice of the turtle was heard, and there was great plenty of gospel-opportunities! Bless the Lord, O my soul! as long as I live, I will bless the Lord; I will praise my God while I have my being. Had it been only the restraint that it laid upon me, whereby I was kept from the common sins of other children and youths, such as cursing, swearing, sabbath-breaking, and the like, I were bound to be very thankful: but that it prevailed through grace effectually to bring me to God, how much am I indebted, and what shall I render!"

Thus you see how the dews of heaven softened his heart by degrees. From these early experiences of his own,

1. He would blame those who laid so much stress on peoples' knowing the exact time of their conversion, which he thought was with many not possible to do. Who can so soon be aware of the day-break, or of the springing up of the seed sown? The work of grace is better known in its effects than in its causes.

He would sometimes illustrate this by that saying of the blind man to the Pharisees, who were so critical in examining the recovery of his sight: "*this and the other I know not concerning it, but this one thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see.*" (John ix. 25.)

2. He would bear his testimony to the comfort and benefit of early piety, and recommend it to all

young people, as a good thing to bear the yoke of the Lord Jesus in youth. He would often witness against that wicked proverb, "a young saint, an old devil," and would have it said rather, "a young saint, an old angel." He observed it concerning Obadiah (and he was a courtier) that he *feared the Lord from his youth*, (1 Kings xviii. 12.) and it is said of him, (ver. 3.) that he *feared the Lord greatly*. Those that would come to fear God greatly, must learn to fear him from their youth. No man did his duty so naturally as Timothy did, (Phil. ii. 20.) who from a child knew the holy Scriptures. He would sometimes apply to this that common saying, "he that would thrive, must rise at five;" and in dealing with young people, how earnestly would he press this upon them. "I tell you, you cannot begin too soon to be religious, but you may put it off too long: manna must be gathered early, and he that is the first, must have the first." He often inculcated Eccl. xii. 1. *Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth*; or, as in the original, *the days of thy choice: thy choice days, and thy choosing days*.

I remember a passage of his in a lecture sermon, in the year 1674, which much affected many. He was preaching on that text, Matt. xi. 30. *my yoke is easy*; and after many things insisted upon, to prove the yoke of Christ an easy yoke, he at last appealed to the experiences of all that had drawn in that yoke. "Call now if there be any that will answer you, and to which of the saints will you turn? Turn to which you will, and they will all agree that they have found *wisdom's ways pleasantness*, and Christ's *commandments not grievous*: and," saith he, "I will here witness for one, who through grace have in some poor measure been drawing in this yoke, now above thirty years, and
I have

I have found it an easy yoke, and like my choice too well to change."

3. He would also recommend it to the care of parents, to bring their children betimes to public ordinances. He would say, that they are capable sooner than we are aware, of receiving good by them. The Scripture takes notice more than once of the *little ones* in the solemn assemblies of the faithful, (Deut. xxix. 11. Ezra x. 1. Acts xxi. 5.) If we lay our children by the pool-side, who knows but the blessed spirit may help them in, and heal them. He used to apply that Scripture to this, Cant. i. 8. Those that would have communion with Christ, must not only go forth by the *footsteps of the flock*, themselves, but *feed their kids too*, their children or other young ones that are under their charge, *beside the shepherd's tents*.

4. He would also recommend to young people the practice of *writing* sermons. He himself did it, not only when he was young, but continued it constantly till within a few years before he died, when the decay of his sight obliging him to the use of spectacles, made writing not so ready to him as it had been. He never wrote short-hand, but had an excellent art of taking the substance of a sermon in a very plain and legible hand, and with a great deal of ease. And the sermons he wrote he kept by him, in such method and order, that by the help of indexes, which he made to them, he could readily turn almost to any sermon that ever he heard, where he noted the preacher, place, and time; and this he called, "hearing for the time to come." He recommended this practice to others, as a means to engage their attention in hearing, and to prevent drowsiness, and to help their memories after hearing, when they come either to meditate upon what they have heard themselves,

or to communicate it to others; and many have had reason to bless God for his advice and instruction herein. He would advise people sometimes to look over the sermon-notes that they had written, as a ready way to revive the good impressions of the truths they had heard, and would blame those who made waste-paper of them; "for," saith he, "the day is coming when you will either thank God for them, or heartily wish you had never written them."

But it is time we return to Westminster-school, where, having begun to learn Christ, we left him in the successful pursuit of other learning, under the eye and care of that great master, Dr. Busby; who, on the account of his pregnancy and diligence, took a particular kindness to him, called him his *child*, and would sometimes tell him he should be his heir; and there was no love lost betwixt them. Dr. Busby was noted for a very severe school-master, especially in the beginning of his time. But Mr. Henry would say sometimes, that as in so great a school there was need of a strict discipline; so for his own part, of the four years he was in the school, he never felt the weight of his hand but once: "and then," saith he, in some of the remarks of his youth, which he wrote long after, "I deserved it." For being monitor of the chamber, and according to the duty of his place, being sent out to seek one that played truant; he found him out where he had hid himself, and at his earnest request promised to make an excuse for him, and to say he could not find him; "which," saith he, in a penitential reflection upon it afterwards, "I wickedly did." Next morning the truant coming under examination, and being asked whether he saw the monitor, said, "yes, he did;" at which Dr. Busby was much surprized, and turned his eye
upon

upon the monitor, with this word, καὶ σὺ τέκνον, (*what thou, my son?*) and gave him correction, and appointed him to make a penitential copy of Latin verses, which when he brought he gave him six-pence, and received him into his favour again.

Among the mercies of God to him in his youth (and he would say it were well if parents would keep an account of those for their children, till they come to be capable of doing it for themselves, and then to set them upon the doing of it) he hath recorded a remarkable deliverance he had here at Westminster-school, which was this: it was customary there among the studious boys, for one or two or more, to sit up the former part of the night at study, and when they went to bed, about midnight, to call others; and they others, at two or three a clock, as they desired. His request was to be called at twelve, and being awaked, desired his candle might be lighted, which stuck to the bed's head; but he dropped asleep again, and the candle fell, and burnt part of the bed and bolster, ere he awaked; but, through God's good providence, seasonable help came in, the fire soon quenched, and he received no harm. This gave him occasion long after to say, *It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed.*

When he was at Westminster-school he was employed by Dr. Busby, as some others of the most ingenious and industrious of his scholars were, in their reading of the Greek authors, to collect, by his direction, some materials for that excellent Greek-grammar, which the doctor afterwards published.

But be the school never so agreeable, youth is desirous to commence man by a removal from it. This step he took in the sixteenth year of his age.

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It was the ancient custom of Westminster-school, that all the king's scholars who stood candidates for an election to the university, were to receive the Lord's Supper the Easter before, which he did with the rest, in St. Margaret's church, at Easter, 1647; and he would often speak of the great pains which Dr. Busby took with his scholars, that were to approach to that solemn ordinance, for several weeks before at stated times; with what skill and seriousness of application, and manifest concern for their souls, he opened to them the nature of the ordinance, and of the work they had to do in it; and instructed them what was to be done in preparation for it; and this he made a business of, appointing them their religious exercises instead of their school exercises. What success this had, through the grace of God, upon young Mr. Henry (to whom the doctor had a particular regard) read from his own hand. "There had been treaties, saith he, "before, between my soul and Jesus Christ, with some weak overtures towards him; but then, then I think it was that the match was made, the knot tied. Then I set myself, in the strength of divine grace, about the great work of self-examination, in order to repentance; and then I repented; that is, solemnly and seriously, with some poor meltings of soul. I confessed my sins before God, original and actual, judging and condemning myself for them, and casting away from me all my transgressions, receiving Christ Jesus the Lord, as the Lord my righteousness, and devoting and dedicating my whole self absolutely and unreservedly to his fear and service. After which, coming to the ordinance, there, there I received him indeed, and he became mine, I say mine. Bless the Lord, O my soul!"

Dr.

Dr. Busby's agency, under God, in this blessed work, he makes a very grateful mention of, in divers of his papers: "the Lord recompense it," saith he, "a thousand fold, into his bosom."

I have heard him tell how much he surprized the doctor, the first time he waited upon him after he was turned out by the act of uniformity: for when the doctor asked him, "prythee (child) what made thee a nonconformist?" "Truly, sir," saith Mr. Henry, "you made me one; for you taught me those things that hindered me from conforming."

"Encouraged by this experience, I have myself," saith he, in one of his papers, "taken like pains with divers others at their first admission to the Lord's table, and have, through grace, seen the comfortable fruits of it, both in mine own children, and others. To God be glory!"

Mr. Jeremy Dyke's book of the Sacrament, I have heard him say, was of great use to him at that time, in his preparation for that ordinance.

Thus was this great concern happily settled before his launching out into the world, which through grace he had all his days more or less the comfort of, in an even serenity of mind, and a peaceful expectation of the glory to be revealed.

May 17, 1647, he was chosen from Westminster-school to Christ-church in Oxford, *jure loci*, with four others, of which he had the second place. At his election he was very much countenanced and smiled upon by his god-father, the earl of Pembroke, who was one of the electors.

CHAP. II.

His Years spent at Oxford.

THOUGH he was chosen to the university in May, yet being then young, under sixteen, and in love with his school-learning, he made no great haste thither. It was in December following, 1647, that he removed to Oxford.

Some merciful providences in his journey (he being a young traveller) affected him much, and he used to speak of them, with a sense of God's goodness to him in them, according to the impressions then made by them; and he hath recorded them with this thankful note, "that there may be a great mercy in a small matter;" as the care that was taken of him by strangers, when he fainted and was sick in his inn the first night, and his casual meeting with Mr. Annesly, son to the viscount Valentia (who was chosen from Westminster-school at the same time that he was) when his other company, going another way, had left him alone, and utterly at a loss what to do. Thus the sensible remembrance of old mercies may answer the intention of new ones, which is to engage our obedience to God, and to encourage our dependance on him.

Being come to Oxford, he was immediately entered commoner of Christ-church, where Dr. Samuel Fell was then dean; the tutor assigned to him and the rest of that election was Mr. Underwood, a very learned ingenious gentleman.

His god-father, the earl of Pembroke, had given him ten pounds to buy him a gown, to pay his fees, and to set out with. This in his papers he puts a
remark

remark upon, as a seasonable mercy in regard of some straits, which providence, by the calamity of the times, had brought his father to. God had taught him from his youth that excellent principle, which he adhered to all his days, that "every creature is that to us, and no more, than God makes it to be;" and therefore, while many seek the ruler's favour, and so expect *to make their fortunes*, as they call it, seeing every man's judgment proceedeth from the Lord, it is our wisdom to seek his favour, who is *the ruler of rulers*; and that is an effectual way to make sure our happiness.

To the proper studies of this place he now vigorously addressed himself; but still retaining a great kindness for the classic authors, and the more polite exercises he loved so well at Westminster-school.

He was admitted student of Christ-Church Mar. 24, 1647-8, by Dr. Henry Hammond, that great man, then sub-dean, who called him his god-brother, the earl of Pembroke being *his* god-father also, and prince Henry the other, who gave him his name.

The visitation² of the university by the parliament happened to be in the very next month after. Oxford had been for a good while in the hands of the parliament, and no change made; but now the earl of Pembroke, and several others thereunto appointed, came hither to settle things upon a new bottom. The account Mr. Henry, in his papers, gives of this affair, is to this purpose. The sole question which the visitors proposed to each person, high and low, in every college, that had any

² *The visitation.*] See Vol. V. Life of Dr. Henry Hammond.

place of profit, was this, "will you submit to the power of the parliament in this present visitation?" to which all were to give in their answers in writing, and accordingly were either displaced or continued. Some cheerfully complied, others absolutely refused, (among whom he would sometimes tell of one that was but of his standing, who gave in this bold answer, "I neither can, nor will, submit to the power of the parliament in this present visitation: I say I cannot, I say I will not, J. C.") others answered doubtfully, pleading youth and ignorance in such matters. Mr. Henry's answer was, "I submit to the power of the parliament in the present visitation, as far as I may with a safe conscience and without perjury." His reason for the last salvo, was, because he had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy a little before, at his admission; which he was (according to the character of the good man, that *he fears an oath*) very jealous of doing any thing to contradict or infringe; which hath made him sometimes signify some dislike of that practice of administering oaths to such as were scarce past children, who could hardly be supposed to take them with *judgment*, as oaths should be taken. However, this answer of his satisfied; and by the favour of the earl of Pembroke he was continued in his student's place. But great alterations were made in that, as well as in other colleges, very much (no question) to the hindrance and discouragement of young scholars, who came thither to get learning, not to judge of the rights of government. Dr. Samuel Fell, the dean, was removed, and Dr. Edward Reynolds, afterwards bishop of Norwich, was put in his room: Dr. Hammond and all the canons, except Dr. Wall, were displaced; and Mr. Wilkinson, Mr. Pococke, and others of the parliament's friends, were preferred

to their places. His thoughts of this in the reflection long after, was, that milder methods might have done better, and would have been a firmer establishment to the new interest; but considering that many of those who were put out (being in expectation of a sudden change, which came not of many years after) were exasperating in their carriage towards the visitors; and that the parliament (who at this time rode masters) had many of their own friends ready for university preferments, (which, Oxford having been from the beginning a garrison for the king, they had been long kept out of) and these they were concerned to oblige, it was not strange if they took such strict methods. And yet nothing being required but a bare *submission*, which might be interpreted but as crying *quarter*, he thought withal, that it could not be said the terms were hard, "especially," saith he, "if compared with those of another nature imposed since."

Among other student-masters removed, his tutor, Mr. Underwood, was one, which he often bewailed as ill for him, for he was a good scholar, and one that made it his business to look after his pupils, who were very likely, by the blessing of God, to have profited under his conduct. But upon the removal of Mr. Underwood, he, with some others, were turned over to Mr. Finmore, who was then in with that interest which was uppermost, and was afterwards prebendary of Chester; "a person," (as he notes) "able enough, but not willing, to employ his abilities for the good of those that were committed to his charge; towards whom he had little more than the name of a tutor." This he lamented as his infelicity, at his first setting out. But it pleased God to give him an interest in the affections of a young man, an under-graduate then,
but

but two or three years his senior from Westminster, one Mr. Richard Bryan, who took him to be his chamber-fellow while he continued at Oxford, read to him, overlooked his studies, and directed him in them. Of this gentleman he makes a very honourable mention, as one who was, through God's blessing, an instrument of much good to him. Mr. John Fell³ also, the dean's son (afterwards himself dean of Christ-Church, and bishop of Oxford) taking pity on him, and some others that were neglected, voluntarily read to them for some time; a kindness which he retained a very grateful sense of, and for which he much honoured that learned and worthy person.

Here he duly performed the college-exercises; disputations every day, in term time, themes and verses once a week, and declamations when it came to his turn; in which performances he frequently came off with very great applause: and many of his manuscripts which remain, shew how well he improved his time there.

And yet in some reflections I find under his hand, written long after (wherein he looks back upon his early days) he chargeth it upon himself, that for a good while after he came to the university (though he was known not to be inferior to any of his standing, in public exercises, yet) he was too much a stranger to that hard study which afterwards he became acquainted with, and that he lost a deal of time which might have been better improved. Thus he is pleased to accuse himself of that which (for ought I ever heard) no one else did, or could accuse him of. But the truth is, in all the secret accounts he kept of himself, he ap-

³ *Mr. John Fell.*] The writer of the Life of Dr. Henry Hammond, inserted in the fifth volume of this collection.

pears to have had a very quick and deep sense of his own failings and infirmities, in the most minute instances, the loss of time, weakness and distractions in holy duties, not improving opportunities of doing good to others, and the like; lamentably bewailing these imperfections, and charging them upon himself, with as great expressions of shame and sorrow, and self-abhorrence, and crying out as earnestly for pardon and forgiveness in the blood of Jesus, as if he had been the greatest of sinners: for though he was a man that walked very closely, yet withal he walked very humbly with God, and lived a life of repentance and self-denial. This minds me of a sermon of his, which one might discern came from the heart, on that Scripture, (Rom. vii. 24) *O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death!* “A strange complaint,” saith he, “to come from the mouth of one who had learned in every state to be content. Had I been to have given my thoughts,” said he, “concerning Paul, I should have said, O blessed man that thou art, that hast been in the third heaven, a great apostle, a spiritual father to thousands, &c. and yet a *wretched man* all this while, in his own account and esteem. He never complains thus of the bonds and afflictions that did abide him, the prisons that were frequent, the stripes above measure; but the body of death, that is, the body of sin, that was it he groaned under.” How feelingly did he observe from thence, that the remainders of indwelling corruption are a very grievous burthen to a gracious soul!

But to return. It may not be amiss to set down the causes to which he ascribes his loss of time when he came first to the university. One was, that he was *young*, too young, and understood not the day of his opportunities; which made him afterwards

terwards advise his friends not to thrust their children forth too soon from school to the university, though they may seem ripe, in respect of learning, till they have discretion to manage themselves: while they are children, what can be expected but that they should *mind childish things*? Another was, that coming from Westminster-school, his attainments in school-learning were beyond what generally others had that came from other schools; so that he was tempted to think there was no need for him to study much, because it was so easy to him to keep pace with others; which, he saith, was the thing Dr. Caldecott, chaplain to the earl of Pembroke, and his great friend, warned him of at his coming to Oxford. Another was, that there were two sorts of persons his cotemporaries, some of the *new stamp*, that came in by the visitation, and were divers of them serious, pious young men, but of small ability, comparatively, for learning, and those for that reason he desired not to have much fellowship with. But there were others that were of the *old* spirit and way, enemies to the parliament, and the reformation they made; and these were the better scholars, but generally not the better men⁴. With them for awhile he struck in because of their learning, and conversed most with them; but he soon found it a snare to him, and that it took him off from the life of religion, and communion with God. *Elanguescere mor cepit*, (saith he, in a Latin narrative of his younger years) *pristinæ pietatis ardor*, &c. But “for ever praised be the riches of God’s free grace,” saith he, in

⁴ *Not the better men.*] But, supposing this statement to be altogether correct, it must yet be remembered, that the flower of the high-minded and conscientious partizans of the old constitution in Church and State, had been driven out by the visitation.

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another account, "that he was pleased still to keep his hold of me; and not to let me alone when I was running from him, but *set his hand again the second time*, (as the expression is, Isaiah xi. 11.) to snatch me *as a brand out of the fire*." His recovery from this snare he would call a kind of second conversion; so much was he affected with the preventing grace of God in it, and sensible of a double bond to be for ever thankful, as well as of an engagement to be watchful and humble. It was a saying of his, "he that stumbleth and doth not fall, gets ground by his stumble."

At the latter end of the year 1648, he had leave given him to make a visit to his father at Whitehall, with whom he stayed some time. There he was January 30, when the king was beheaded, and with a very sad heart saw that tragical blow^s given.

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^s *That tragical blow.*] Dr. Richard Parr, in his Life of Archbishop Usher, thus describes the emotions of the primate, surveying a part of the same fatal scene.

"The lady Peterborough's house, where my lord then lived, being just over against Charing-Cross, divers of the countess's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting before Whitehall. As soon as his majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the houshold came and told my lord primate of it, and asked him if he would see the king once more before he was put to death. My lord was at first unwilling; but was at last persuaded to go up; as well out of his desire to see his majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him, unless he saw it. When he came upon the leads, the king was in his speech. The lord primate stood still, and said nothing; but sighed; and lifting up his hands and eyes, full of tears, towards heaven, seemed to pray earnestly. But when his majesty had done speaking, and had pulled off his cloak and doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizards began to put up his hair, the good bishop, no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact now ready to be executed, grew pale, and began to faint; so that if he had not
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Two things he used to speak of, that he took notice of himself that day; which I know not whether any of the historians mention. One was, that at the instant when the blow was given, there was such a dismal universal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight of it, (as it were with one consent) as he never heard before; and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it. The other was; that immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one troop marching from Charing-Cross towards King-street, and another from King-street towards Charing-Cross, purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts which they could not but be filled with, by driving them to shift every one for his own safety. He did upon all occasions testify his abhorrence of this unparalleled action, which he always said was a thing that could not be justified, and yet he said he saw not how it could be called a *national sin*; for, as the king urged upon his trial, it was certain that not one man of ten in the kingdom did consent to it*; nor could it be called the sin of the long parliament, for far the greatest part of them were all that time, while the thing was in agitation,

been observed by his own servant, and some others that stood near him, who therefore supported him, he had swooned away. So they presently carried him down, and laid him on his bed, where he used those powerful weapons which God has left his people in such afflictions, namely, prayers and tears; tears, that so horrid a sin should be committed; and prayers, that God would give his prince patience and constancy to undergo these cruel sufferings; and that he likewise would not, for the vindication of his own honour and providence, permit so great a wickedness to pass unpunished." P. 72.

* See the bishop of Chichester's sermon before the king, Jan. 30, 1697, p. 25, 29; where he saith, he did not see how it could be called a national sin.

imprisoned,

imprisoned, and kept under a force, and scarce twenty-seven of the forty that were left to carry the name of a parliament, did give their vote for it; which the commissioners for the trying of the king's judges, in the year 1660, (some of whom had been themselves members of the long parliament) urged again and again, in answer to that plea which the prisoners stood so much upon, that what they did was by authority of the parliament. But it is manifest it was done by a prevailing party in the army, who (as he used to express it) having beaten their plowshares into swords, could not so easily beat their swords into plowshares again, as having fought more for victory and dominion, than for peace and truth: but how far these men were acted and influenced by another sort of people behind the curtain, the world is not altogether ignorant. For some years after king Charles II. came in, he observed the yearly day of humiliation for this sin, desiring that God would not lay the guilt of blood to the charge of the nation: but afterwards finding to what purposes it was generally observed, and improved even to the reproach and condemning not only of the innocent but of some of the excellent ones of the land, and noting that there is no precedent in Scripture of keeping annual days of humiliation for particular sins; especially after the immediate judgment is at an end; (Zech. viii. 19. Heb. x. 2, 3.) he took no farther notice of it. But in his diary, he adds this tender remark, (according to the spirit he was of) yet good men no doubt may observe it to the Lord, (Rom. xiv. 6.) Thus he judged not, and why then should he be judged?

In the year 1650-1, he took his bachelor of arts degree, and he hath recorded the goodness of God in raising him up friends, who helped him out in

the expences. Such kindnesses have a peculiar sweetness in them to a good man, who sees and receives them as the kindness of God, and the tokens of his love.

He would often mention it with thankfulness to God, what great helps and advantages he had then in the university, not only for learning, but for religion and piety. Serious godliness was in reputation, and besides the public opportunities they had, there were many of the scholars that used to meet together for prayer, and christian conference, to the great confirming of one another's hearts in the fear and love of God, and the preparing of them for the service of the church in their generation. I have heard him speak of the prudent method they took then about the university-sermons on the Lord's day in the afternoon, which used to be preached by the fellows of colleges in their course; but, that being found not so much for edification, Dr. Owen and Dr. Goodwin performed that service alternately, and the young masters that were wont to preach it, had a lecture on Tuesday appointed them. The sermons he heard at Oxford he commonly wrote, not in the time of hearing, but afterwards, when he came home, in his reflections upon them, which he found a good help to his memory.

In December 1652, he proceeded master of arts, and in January following preached his first sermon at South-Hincksey in Oxfordshire, on John viii. 34. *Whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin.* On this occasion he writes in his diary, what was the breathing of his heart towards God, "the Lord make use of me as an instrument of his glory, and his church's good, in this high and holy calling!"

His great parts and improvement, notwithstanding

ing his extraordinary modesty and humility, had made him so well known in the university, that in the following act, in July 1653, he was chosen out of all the masters of that year, to be junior of the act, that is, to answer the philosophy questions *in vespertiis*, which he did with very great applause; especially for the very witty and ingenious oration which he made to the university upon that occasion: his questions were, 1. *An licitum sit carnibus vesci? Aff.* 2. *An institutio academiarum sit utilis in republicâ? Aff.* 3. *An ingenium pendeat ab humoribus corporis? Aff.* At the act in 1654, he was chosen *magister replicans*, and answered the philosophy questions *in comitiis*, with a like applause. His questions then were, 1. *An melius sit sperare quam frui? Neg.* 2. *An maxima animi delectatio sit a sensibus? Neg.* 3. *An utile sit peregrinari? Aff.*

Dr. Owen, who was then vice-chancellor, hath spoken with great commendation of these performances of Mr. Henry's to some in the university afterwards, who never knew him otherwise than by report; and I have heard a worthy divine (who was somewhat his junior in the university, and there a perfect stranger to him) say, how much he admired these exercises of his, and loved him for them; and yet how much more he admired, when he afterwards became acquainted with him in the country, that so curious and polite an orator should become so profitable and powerful a preacher, and so readily lay aside the enticing words of man's wisdom, which were so easy to him.

There is a copy of Latin verses of his in print, among the poems which the university of Oxford published upon the peace concluded with Holland, in the year 1654, which shew him to be no less a poet than an orator.

He hath noted it of some pious young men, that before they removed from the university into the country, they kept a day of fasting and humiliation for the sins they had been guilty of in that place and state. And in the visits he made afterwards to the university, he inserts into his book, as no doubt God did into his,—*a tear dropped over my university-sins.*

CHAP. III.

His removal to Worthenbury, in Flintshire; his Ordination to the Ministry, and his Exercise of it there.

WORTHENBURY is a little town by Dee side, in that hundred of Flintshire, which is separated some miles from the rest of the county, and known by the name of English Mialors, because, though it is reputed in Wales as pertaining to Flintshire, yet in language and customs it is wholly English, and lies mostly between Cheshire and Shropshire. Worthenbury was of old a parochial chapel, belonging to the rectory of Bangor; but was separated from it in the year 1658, by the trustees for uniting and dividing of parishes, and was made a parish of itself. But what was then done being vacated by the king's coming in, it then came to be *in statu quo*, and continued an appurtenant to Bangor, till in the second year of the reign of king William and queen Mary, it was again, by act of parliament, separated, and made independent upon Bangor. That was the only act that passed the royal

royal assent with the act of recognition, at the beginning of the second parliament of this reign. The principal family in Worthenbury parish, is that of the Pulestons, of Emeral. The head of the family was then John Puleston, serjeant at law, one of the judges of the common-pleas.

This was the family to which Mr. Henry came from Christ-church, presently after he had completed his master's degree, in 1653, ordered into that remote, and unto him unknown, corner of the country, by that over-ruling providence *which determineth the times before appointed, and the bounds of our habitation.*

The judge's lady was a person of more than ordinary parts and wisdom; in piety, inferior to few; but in learning, superior to most of her sex; which I could give instances of from what I find among Mr. Henry's papers, particularly an elegy she made upon the death of the famous Mr. John Selden, who was her great friend.

This was the lady whose agency first brought Mr. Henry into this country. She wrote to a friend of her's, Mr. Francis Palmer, student of Christ-church, to desire him to recommend to her a young man to be in her family, and to take the over-sight of her sons (some of whom were now ready for the university) and to preach at Worthenbury on the Lord's days, for which a very honourable encouragement was promised. Mr. Palmer proposed it to his friend Mr. Henry, who was willing for one half year to undertake it, provided it might be required of him to preach but once on the Lord's day, and that some other supply might be got for the other part of the day, he being now but twenty-two years of age, and newly entered upon that great work: provided also, that he should be engaged but for half a year, as little intending to break

break off so soon from an academical life, which he delighted in so much. But preferring usefulness before his own private satisfaction, he was willing to make trial for awhile in the country, as one that sought not his own things, but the things of Jesus Christ, to whose service in the work of the ministry he had intirely devoted himself, bending his studies wholly that way. In the latter part of his time at Oxford, as one grown weary of that which he used to say he found *little to his purpose*, he employed his time mostly in searching the Scriptures, and collecting useful scripture-observations, which he made very familiar to him, and with which he was thoroughly furnished for this good work. He got a bible interleaved, in which he wrote short notes upon texts of Scriptures as they occurred. He would often say, "I read other books that I may be the better able to understand the Scripture."

It was a stock of scripture-knowledge that he set up with, and with that he traded to good advantage. Though he was so great a master in the eloquence of Cicero, yet he preferred far before it that of Apollos, who was *an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures*, (Acts xviii. 24.)

He bid very fair at that time for university-pre ferment, such was the reputation he had got at the late act, and such his interest in Dr. Owen: but the salvation of souls was that which his heart was upon, to which he postponed all his other interests.

In September 1653, he came down to Emeral, from whence a messenger was sent on purpose to Oxford to conduct him thither. Long after, when it had pleased God to settle him in that country, and to build him up into a family, he would often reflect upon his coming into it first; what a stranger

ger he then was, and how far it was from his thoughts ever to have made his home in those parts; and passing over the brook that parts between Flintshire and Shropshire, would sometimes very affectionately use that word of Jacob's, *with my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands.*

At Emeral he prayed in the family, was tutor to the young gentlemen, and preached once a day at Worthenbury, other help being procured for the other part of the day, according to his request, out of a fear, being so young, to take the whole work upon him. But it soon happened, that one Lord's day, the supply that was expected failed; and so he was necessitated, rather than there should be a vacancy, to preach twice, in which he found the promise so well fulfilled, *as the day is, so shall the strength be; and to him that hath (i. e. that hath, and useth what he hath) shall be given, and he shall have abundance;* that, to the great satisfaction of his friends there, from thenceforward he waved looking out for other help than what came from above; and would sometimes speak of this as an instance, that we do not know what we can do, till we have tried.

Here he applied himself to a plain and practical way of preaching, as one truly concerned for the souls of those he spoke to. He would say sometimes, "we study how to speak, that you may understand us." And, "I never think I can speak plain enough, when I am speaking about souls and their salvation." I have heard him say, he thought it did him good, that for the first half year of his being at Worthenbury, he had few or no books with him, which engaged him (in studying sermons) to a closer search of the Scripture, and his own heart. What success his labours had in that parish,

rish, which before he came to it, (I have been told) was accounted one of the most loose and prophane places in all the country, may be gathered from a letter of the lady Puleston's to him, at the end of the first half year after his coming to Emerald, when he was uncertain of his continuance there, and inclinable to return to settle at Christ-church. Take the letter at large.

“ Dear Mr. Henry,

“ The indisposition that my sadness hath bred, and the stay of Mrs. V. here yesterday, hindered my answering your last expressions. As to ordering the conversation, and persevering to the practise of those good intents, taken up while one is in pursuit of a mercy, you and I will confer, as God gives opportunity, who also must give the will and the deed, by his spirit, and by the rule of his word. As to begging that one thing for you, *God forbid* (as Samuel said) *that I should cease to pray*, &c. This I am sure, that having wanted hitherto a good minister of the word among us, I have oft by prayer and some tears, above five years besought God for such a one as yourself; which having obtained, I cannot yet despair, seeing he hath given us the good means, but he may also give us the good end. And this I find, that your audience is increased three for one in the parish (though in winter, more than formerly in summer); and five for one out of other places. And I have neither heard of their being in the ale-house on our Lord's day, nor ball-playing that day, which before you came was frequent (except that day that young Ch. preached). I think I can name four or five in the parish, that of formal christians are becoming, or become, real; but you know all are not wrought on at first, by the word, (*Some come in no misfortune like other men,*

men, and this is the cause they be so holden with pride, &c.) Hypocrites also have converted conversion itself: yet God may have reserved those that have not bowed the knee to Baal, &c. and may call them at the latter part of the day, though not in this half year. It is a good sign, most are loth to part with you; and you have done more good in this half year, than I have discerned these eighteen years: but however, whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear, you have delivered your own soul. I have prayed, and do pray, seeing God hath sent you, that you may be for his glory, and not for our condemnation."

It is easy to imagine what an encouragement this was to him, thus at his first setting out to see of the travel of his soul, and what an inducement it was to him not to leave those among whom God had thus owned him. However, that spring he returned to Oxford. The lady Puleston soon after came to him thither, with her five sons, of whom she placed the two eldest under his charge, in the college. In the following vacation he went to London to visit his relations there; and there in October he received a letter from judge Puleston, with a very solemn and affectionate request, subscribed by the parishioners of Worthenbury, earnestly desiring his settlement among them, as their minister, which he was persuaded to comply with, having fixed to himself that good rule, "in the turns of his life, to follow providence, and not to force it:" so in the winter following he came down again, and settled with them. He continued in his student's place in Christ-church for two or three years, attending the service of it once a year; but disposing of most of the profit of it for the use of poor scholars there,

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The tithe of Worthenbury belonged to Emeral family, paying some rent to the rector of Bangor. This tithe Judge Puleston was willing to give (clear of that charge) to the minister of Worthenbury for ever: but such was the peculiar and extraordinary kindness he had for Mr. Henry, upon the experience of his merits, that he chose rather by deed of indenture, bearing date October 6, 1655, between himself and Mr. Henry, "in consideration of his being pleased to undertake the cure of souls, and to preach and teach, and perform other duties of divine service in the parish-church of Worthenbury," (so the deed runs) "to give, grant, and confirm for himself and his heirs, unto the said Philip Henry, the yearly rent of one hundred pounds, charged upon all his messuages, lands, and tenements in the several counties of Flint, Denbigh, and Chester, to be paid quarterly, until such times as the said Philip Henry shall be promoted or preferred to some other spiritual or ecclesiastical living or preferment, with power of distress in case of non-payment." A hundred a year was more than Worthenbury tithes were worth at that time; and the manner of the gift freed the maintenance from much of that loss and incumbrance which commonly attends the gathering of tithe.

He still continued for some years in Emeral family, where he laid out himself very much for the spiritual good of the family, even of the meanest of the servants, by catechizing, repeating the sermons, and personal instruction, and he had very much comfort in the countenance and conversation of the judge and his lady. Yet he complains sometimes in his diary of the snares and temptations that he found in his way there, especially because some of the branches of the family, who did not *patrizare*, were uneasy at his being there; which made

made him willing to remove to a house of his own ; which when judge Puleston perceived, in the year 1657, out of his abundant and continued kindness to him he did at his own proper cost and charges build him a very handsome house in Worthenbury, and settled it upon him by a lease, bearing date March 6, 1657, “ for threescore years, if he should so long continue minister at Worthenbury, and not accept of better preferment.”

He hath noted in his diary, that the very day that the workmen began the building of that house, Mr. Mainwaring, of Malpas, preached the lecture at Bangor, from Psalm cxxvii. 1. *Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.* “ There never was truth,” saith he, “ more seasonable to any than this was to me : it was a word upon the wheels ” He hath recorded it as his great care, that his affections might be kept loose from it, and that it might not encroach upon God’s interest in his heart. When it was finished, he thus writes : “ I do from my heart bless God, that no hurt or harm befel any of the workmen in the building of it.”

Thus was his maintenance settled at Worthenbury. In the year 1659, he was by a writing of judge Puleston’s, collated, nominated, and presented to the church of Worthenbury, and (the powers that then were, having so appointed) he had an approbation thereof from the commissioners for approbation of public preachers.

Some little opposition was made to his settlement at Worthenbury by Mr. Fogg, then rector of Bangor, because he conceived it an intrenchment upon his right to Worthenbury, and thought it might prejudice his recovering of it by course of law. I only mention this for the sake of the note he hath upon it in his diary, which is this ; “ I do earnestly
desire

desire that the judge may give Mr. Fogg all reasonable satisfaction, that there may be no appearance of wrong to him, or any other in this thing." And when Mr. Fogg insisted upon it, that he would have Mr. Henry give it under his hand, that he desired the consent of the said Mr. Fogg to be minister of Worthenbury, he yielded to do it for peace-sake; and from thenceforward there was an intimate and entire friendship between Mr. Fogg and him.

Being thus settled at Worthenbury, his next care was touching ordination to the work of the ministry, to which he would see his call very clear, before he solemnly devoted himself to it. And though afterwards in the reflection (especially when he was silenced) it was some trouble to him, that he had so long deferred to be ordained, (and he would often, from the consideration of that, press those who intended the ministry, not to put it off) yet as the times then were, there was something a reason for it.

The nearest acting class of Presbyters was in the hundred of Bradford North, in Shropshire, wherein Mr. Porter, of Whitchurch, was the leading man, of whom Mr. Baxter gives so high a character in his life, (part iii. p. 94.) and who was one of those whom he recommended to the lord chancellor, as fit to be made a bishop, (part ii. p. 283.) This class was constituted by ordinance of parliament in April, 1647. The members of it then were the aforesaid Mr. Porter, Mr. Boughy, of Hodnet, Mr. Houghton, of Prees, Mr. Parsons, of Wem, and Mr. John Bisby; and afterwards, Mr. Malden, of Newport, Mr. Binney, of Ightfield, and Mr. Steel, of Hanmer, (though in Flintshire) were taken into them, and acted with them. This class in twelve years time publicly ordained sixty-three ministers.

ministers. Mr. Henry was very desirous to have been ordained at Worthenbury, *plebe præsente*, which he thought most agreeable to the intention, but the ministers were not willing to set such a precedent: however, that was one thing which occasioned the delay, so that he was not ordained till September 16, 1657.

The way and manner of his ordination was according to the known *Directory* of the assembly of divines, and the common usage of the Presbyterians; and yet he having left among his papers a particular account of that solemnity, and some of the workings of his soul towards God in it; I hope it may be of some use both for instruction and quickening to ministers, and for the information of such as are perhaps wholly strangers to such a thing, to give some account of the whole transaction.

He made addresses to the presbytery, in order to his ordination, July 6, at Prees, when he submitted to trial; and enquiry was made in the first place, concerning his experience of the work of grace in his heart; in answer to which he gave a reason of the hope that was in him, with meekness and fear; that the spirit of grace had been dealing with him when he was young, and he hoped had discovered to him his need of Christ, and had bowed his will in some measure to close with him upon his own terms, &c. His skill in the original languages of the Scripture was then tried; and he read and construed two verses in the Hebrew Bible, and two in the Greek Testament. He was then examined in logic and natural philosophy; next in divinity, what authors he had read, and what knowledge he had touching the mediation of Christ, &c. And his skill in the Scripture was tried, by propounding to him a difficult text to give his

his sense of: a case of conscience was also put to him to be resolved, and enquiry made into his acquaintance with church-history. Lastly, a question was given him to provide a thesis upon against the next meeting, which was this, *An providentia divina extendat se ad omnia? Aff.* On this question he exhibited his thesis, August 3, and defended it. Several of the ministers opposed, and Mr. Porter moderated. He then produced two certificates, which he left with the register of the class, one from Oxford, subscribed by Dr. Wilkinson, Dr. Langley, &c. the other from the neighbour ministers, Mr. Steel, Mr. Fogg, &c. both testifying of his conversation, &c. "The Lord forgive me (saith he in his diary upon this) that it hath not been more exemplary as it ought for piety and industry. Amen, Lord, in Christ." The day for ordination was appointed to be Sept. 16, at Prees, of which notice was given at Worthenbury by a paper, read in the church, and afterwards affixed to the church-door the Lord's day before, signifying also, "that if any one could produce any just exceptions against the doctrine or life of the said Mr. Henry, or any sufficient reason why he might not be ordained, they should certify the same to the classis, or the scribe, and it should be heard and considered."

On the day of ordination there was a very great assembly gathered together. Mr. Porter began the public work of the day with prayer, then Mr. Parsons preached on 1 Tim. i. 12. *I thank Christ Jesus, who hath enabled me, for that he counted me faithful, putting me into the ministry.* Putting men into the ministry is the work of Jesus Christ. After sermon, Mr. Parsons, according to the usual method, required of him a confession of his faith, which he made as follows:

"The

“ The ground and rule of my faith towards God, is the Scripture of the Old and New Testament. I believe they were written by holy men, immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost; having found the efficacy of them in some measure upon my own heart. I believe they are further able to make me wise to salvation.

2 Pet. i. 21.

“ Concerning God, I believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of those that diligently seek him.

2 Tim. iii. 15.

Heb. xi. 6.

“ The Trinity of Persons in the unity of the Godhead, I receive and own as a truth; I admire and adore as a mystery. Though no man hath seen God at any time, yet the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him; and what he hath declared concerning him that I believe. I believe that God is a spirit, for the Son hath said, *God is a spirit*. I believe that he hath life in himself, and that he hath given to the Son to have life in himself. I believe all things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. I believe by his providence he preserves, guides, and governs all the creatures, according to the purpose of his own will to his own glory; for the Father worketh hitherto, and the Son also worketh.

1 John v. 7.

John i. 18.

John iv. 24.

John v. 26.

John i. 3.

John v. 17.

“ I believe he made man upright after his own image and likeness, which image consisted in knowledge,

Eccles. vii. 29.

Gen. i. 26.

righte-

Colos. iii. 10.
Ephes. iv. 24.

righteousness, and true holiness, but man by sin lost it.

Psalm li. 5.

Ephes. ii. 3.
Zech. xi. 8.

Rom. vii. 18.

Gen. vi. 5.

1 Tim. ii. 5.

Ephes. i. 4, 5.

Rom. v. 11.

Gal. iv. 4.
John xvii. 19.
Phil. ii. 8, 9.

Eph. i. 20, 21.

Heb. vii. 25.
John xvii. 9.

“ I believe we were all in the loins of our first parents, and that they stood and fell as public persons, and upon that account justly, without any colour of wrong, we bare our share, both in the guilt of their disobedience, and also the corruption of nature following thereupon; so that we come into the world children of wrath, and heirs of the curse, one as well as another; enemies to God, hating him, and hated of him; averse to what is good, and prone to all manner of evil. Though all are born in this condition, yet there are some that do not die in it.

“ I believe there is a Mediator, and there is but one Mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus. Those whom the Father hath from everlasting pitched his love upon, and given to Christ, not because of works or faith foreseen, but merely of his free grace; for those I believe Christ was sent forth into the world made of a woman, made under the law; for their sakes he sanctified himself, and became obedient to death, even the death of the cross; wherefore God also highly exalted him; and having raised him from the dead on the third day, set him at his own right hand, where he ever lives, to make intercession for those for whom he shed his blood.

All

All these elect redeemed ones I believe are in due time, sooner or later, in their lives effectually called, washed, sanctified, justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God.

Rom. viii. 30.

1 Cor. vi. 11.

“ I believe the righteousness of Christ alone, apprehended by faith, is the matter of our justification before God; and that no flesh can stand in his sight upon any other terms, for he is the Lord our righteousness, and in him only the Father is well pleased.

Rom. v. 1.

Psalm cxliii. 2.

Jer. xxiii. 6.

Matt. iii. 17.

“ I believe the work of sanctification, managed by the Spirit, who dwelleth in us, though in respect of parts it be complete, for the whole man is renewed; yet in respect of degrees it is not fully perfected till we come to glory; and I believe all that are justified shall be glorified, for we are kept by the power of God, through faith unto salvation.

Rom. xv. 16.

Colos. iii. 11.

1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10.

1 Pet. i. 5.

“ I believe the gathering in and building up of saints, is the special end why pastors and teachers are appointed in the church; and that Jesus Christ, according to his promise, will be with them, in that work, to the end of the world.

Ephes. iv. 11.

Matt. xxviii. 20.

“ The two sacraments of the New Testament, Baptism and the Lord's Supper, I receive and own as signs and seals of the covenant of grace; the former instituted by our Lord Jesus, as a sign and seal of our en-

Rom. iv. 11.

Matt. xxviii. 19.

Rom. vi. 7.

Acts ii. 39.

Matt. xxvi. 26.

1 Cor. xi. 26.

Eccles. xii. 7.

Matt. xxv. 34, 41.

Acts xvii. 31.

2 Cor. v. 10.

1 Cor. xv. 42.

John v. 29.

grafting into him, due of right to all the infants of believing parents, and but once to be administered; the other instituted by our Lord Jesus in the night wherein he was betrayed, to shew forth his death, and to seal the benefits purchased thereby to his church and people, and to be often repeated.

“When the body returns to the dust, I believe the soul returns to God that gave it; and that immediately it receives from him the sentence, according to what hath been done in the flesh, either, *Come, inherit the kingdom*, or, *Depart, accursed, into everlasting fire*.

“I believe, besides this, a day of general judgment in the end of the world, wherein we must all appear before the tribunal of Jesus Christ; and that our bodies being raised by an almighty power from the dust, shall be united to the same souls again, and shall partake with them in the same condition, either of happiness or misery, to all eternity. Those that have done good, shall come forth unto the resurrection of life, and those that have done evil, to the resurrection of damnation.

“This is the sum and substance of my faith, into which I was baptized, and in which, by the grace of God, I will live and die.”

Mr.

Mr. Parsons then proposed certain questions to him, according to the instructions in the *Directory*, to which he returned answer as followeth:

Question 1. What are your ends in undertaking the work and calling of a minister?

Answer. "As far as upon search and enquiry I can hitherto find, though there be that within me that would seek great things for myself (if indeed they were to be found in this calling) yet with my mind I seek them not. But the improvement of the talent which I have received in the service of the Gospel, for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls, I hope is in my eye. If there be any thing else, I own it not, I allow it not. While so many seek their own, it is my desire, and shall be my endeavour, to seek the things of Jesus Christ."

Quest. 2. What are your purposes, as to diligence and industry, in this calling?

Answ. "I do purpose and resolve, by the help of God, to give myself wholly to these things; to prayer, reading, meditation, instant preaching in season and out of season, wherein I shall very gladly spend and be spent, if by any means I may both save myself and them that hear me. And when at any time I fail herein, I desire God, by his spirit, and my christian friends, neighbours, and brethren, by seasonable reproof and admonition, to put me in mind of this engagement now made, in the presence of this great congregation."

Quest. 3. Do you mean to be zealous and faithful in the defence of truth and unity, against error and schism?

Answ. "I believe what the spirit hath foretold, that in the last days, perilous times shall come, wherein men will not endure sound doctrine, but

after their own lusts shall heap unto themselves teachers. It is my resolution, by the grace of Christ, to watch in all things; to contend earnestly for the faith, to hold fast the form of sound and wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus, and the doctrine which is according to godliness, in meekness, as I am able, instructing those that oppose themselves: and for peace and unity, if my heart deceive me not, I shall rather choose to hazard the loss of any thing that is most dear to me, than be any way knowingly accessory to the disturbance of these in the churches of Christ."

Quest. 4. What is your persuasion of the truth of the Reformed Religion?

Answ. "My persuasion is, that the bishop of Rome is that man of sin, and son of perdition, whom the Lord Jesus will consume with the spirit of his mouth, and whom he will destroy by the brightness of his coming. And the separation which our first reformers made, I do heartily rejoice in, and bless God for: for had we still continued to partake with him in his sins, we should in the end have partaken with him also in his plagues."

Quest. 5. What do you intend to do when the Lord shall alter your condition, and bring a family under your charge?

Answ. "When the Lord shall please in his providence to bring me into new relations, I hope he will give me grace to fill them up with duty. It is my purpose to wait upon him, and to keep his way, to endeavour, in the use of means, that all that are mine, may be the Lord's."

Quest. 6. Will you, in humility and meekness, submit to admonition and discipline?

Answ. "I believe it to be a duty incumbent upon all that profess the name of Christ, to watch
over

over one another, and that when any is overtaken in a fault, those that are spiritual are to set him in joint again with the spirit of meekness. It shall be my endeavour, in the strength of Jesus Christ, to walk without rebuke; and when at any time I step aside, (for who is there that lives and sins not?) I shall account the smitings of my brethren kindness, and their wounds faithful."

Quest. 7. What if troubles, persecutions, and discouragements arise, will you hold out to the end notwithstanding?

Ans. "Concerning this I am very jealous over my own heart, and there is cause. I find a great want of that zeal and courage for God, which I know is required in a minister of the Gospel; nevertheless I persuade myself that no temptation shall befall me but such as is common to man, and that God who is faithful, will not suffer me to be tempted above that which I am able, but that with the temptation he will also make a way to escape, that I may be able to bear it. I promise faithfulness to the death, but I rest not at all in my promise to God, but in his to me; *When thou goest through the fire, and through the water, I will be with thee.*"

When this was done, Mr. Parsons prayed; and in prayer he and the rest of the Presbyters (Mr. Porter, Mr. Houghton, Mr. Malden, and Mr. Steel) laid their hands upon him, with words to this purpose, "Whom we do thus in thy name set apart to the work and office of the ministry." After him, there were five more, after the like previous examinations and trials, professions and promises, at the same time in like manner set apart to the ministry.

Then Mr. Malden, of Newport, closed with an exhortation, directed to the newly-ordained ministers,

ters, in which (saith Mr. Henry in his diary) this word went near my heart: "As the nurse puts the meat first into her own mouth, and chews it, and then feeds the child with it, so should ministers do by the word, preach it over before-hand to their own hearts; it loses none of the virtue hereby, but rather probably gains. As that milk nourisheth most which comes warm, from the warm breast, so that sermon which comes warm from a warm heart. Lord quicken me to do thy will in this thing!"

The classis gave him, and the rest, instruments in parchment, certifying this, which it may satisfy the curiosity of some to read the form of.

"Whereas, Mr. Philip Henry, of Worthenbury, in the county of Flint, master of arts, hath addressed himself unto us, authorized by an ordinance of both houses of parliament, of the 29th of August, 1648, for the ordination of ministers, desiring to be ordained a Presbyter, for that he is chosen and appointed for the work of the ministry at Worthenbury, in the county of Flint, as by a certificate now remaining with us, touching that his election and appointment appeareth: and he having likewise exhibited a sufficient testimonial of his diligence and proficiency in his studies, and unblameableness of his life and conversation, he hath been examined according to the rules for examination in the said ordinance expressed; and thereupon approved, there being no just exception made, nor put in against his ordination and admission. These may therefore testify to all whom it may concern, that upon the 16th day of September, 1657, we have proceeded solemnly to set apart for the office of a Presbyter, and work of the ministry of the Gospel, by laying on of our hands with fasting and prayer, by virtue whereof we do declare him

him to be a lawful and sufficiently authorized minister of Jesus Christ: and having good evidence of his lawful and fair calling, not only to the work of the ministry, but to the exercise thereof at the chapel of Worthenbury, in the county of Flint; we do hereby send him thither, and actually admit him to the said charge, to perform all the offices and duties of a faithful pastor there, exhorting the people in the name of Jesus Christ, willingly to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ, and to maintain and encourage him in the execution of his office, that he may be able to give up such an account to Christ of their obedience to his ministry, as may be to his joy, and their everlasting comfort. In witness whereof, we, the Presbyters of the fourth class, in the county of Salop, commonly called Bradford North Class, have hereunto set our hands, this 16th day of September, in the year of our Lord God, 1657.

Thomas Porter, moderator for the time.

Andrew Parsons, minister of Wem.

Aylmar Haughton, minister of Prees.

John Malden, minister of Newport.

Richard Steel, minister of Hanmer."

I have heard it said by those who were present at this solemnity, that Mr. Henry did in his countenance, carriage, and expression, discover such an extraordinary seriousness and gravity, and such deep impressions made upon his spirit, as greatly affected the auditory, and even struck an awe upon them.

Read his reflection upon it in his diary. "Methought I saw much of God in the carrying on of the work of this day. O, how good is the Lord! he is good, and doth good: the remembrance of it I shall never lose; to him be glory. I made many promises

promises of diligence, faithfulness, &c. but I lay no stress at all on them, but on God's promise to me, that he will be with his ministers always to the end of the world. Amen, Lord, so be it. Make good thy word unto thy servant, wherein thou hast caused me to put my trust." And in another place, "I did this day receive as much honour and work, as ever I shall be able to know what to do with; Lord Jesus proportion supplies accordingly." Two scriptures he desired might be written in his heart, 2 Cor. vi. 4, 5, &c. and 2 Chron. xxix. 11.

Two years after, upon occasion of his being present at an ordination at Whitchurch, he thus writes; "This day my ordination-covenants were in a special manner renewed, as to diligence in reading, prayer, meditation, faithfulness in preaching, admonition, catechizing, sacraments, zeal against error and profaneness, care to preserve and promote the unity and purity of the church, notwithstanding opposition and persecution, though to death. Lord, thou hast filled my hands with work, fill my heart with wisdom and grace, that I may discharge my duty to thy glory, and my own salvation, and the salvation of those that hear me. Amen."

Let us now see how he applied himself to his work at Worthenbury. The sphere was narrow, too narrow for such a burning and shining light. There were but forty-one communicants in that parish, when he first set up the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; and they were never doubled: yet he had such low thoughts of himself, that he not only never sought for a larger sphere, but would never hearken to any overtures of that kind made to him: and withal, he had such high thoughts of his work, and the worth of souls, that he laid out himself with as much diligence and vigour here, as if he had had the over-sight of the greatest and most considerable parish in the country.

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The greatest part of the parish were poor tenants, and labouring husbandmen; but the souls of such (he used to say) are as precious as the souls of the rich, and to be looked after accordingly. His prayer for them was, "Lord, despise not the day of small things in this place, where there is some willingness, but much weakness." And thus he writes upon the judge's settling a handsome maintenance upon him: "Lord, thou knowest, I seek not theirs but them: give me the souls."

He was in labours more abundant to win souls. Besides preaching, he expounded the Scriptures in order, catechized, and explained the catechism. At first he took into the number of his catechumens some that were adult, who (he found) wanted instruction; and when he had taken what pains he thought needful with them, he dismissed them from further attendance, with commendation of their proficiency, and counsel to hold fast the form of sound words; to be watchful against the sins of their age, and to apply themselves to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and make ready for it; afterwards he catechized none above seventeen or eighteen years of age.

He set up a monthly lecture there of two sermons: one he himself preached, and the other his friend Mr. Ambrose Lewis, of Wrexham, for some years. He also kept up a monthly conference in private from house to house, in which he met with the more knowing and judicious of the parish; and they discoursed familiarly together of the things of God, to their mutual edification, according to the example of the apostles, who, though they had the liberty of public places, yet taught also from house to house. (Acts v. 42. xx. 20.) That which induced him to set and keep up this exercise as long as he durst (which was till August, 1660)

1660) was, that by this means he came better to understand the state of his flock, and so knew the better how to preach to them, and pray for them, and they to pray one for another. If they were in doubt about any thing relating to their souls, that was an opportunity of getting satisfaction. It was likewise a means of encreasing knowledge, and love, and other graces; and thus it abounded to a good account.

He was very industrious in visiting the sick, instructing them, and praying with them; and in this he would say, he aimed at the good, not only of those that were sick, but also of their friends and relations that were about them.

He preached funeral sermons for all that were buried there, rich or poor, old or young, or little children; for he looked upon it as an opportunity of doing good: he called it, "setting in the plow of the word, when the providence had softened and prepared the ground." He never took any money for that or any other ministerial performance, besides his stated salary, for which he thought himself obliged to do his whole duty to them as a minister.

When he first set up the ordinance of the Lord's Supper there, he did it with very great solemnity. After he had endeavoured to instruct them in his public preaching, touching the nature of that ordinance, he discoursed personally with all that gave up their names to the Lord in it, touching their knowledge, experience, and conversation, obliged them to observe the law of Christ, touching brotherly admonition in case of scandal; and gave notice to the congregation who they were that were admitted; adding this: "Concerning these, and myself, I have two things to say; 1. As to what is past, we have sinned: if we should say, we have not,

not, we should deceive ourselves, and the truth were not in us; and yet this withal we can say, and have said it, some of us with tears, we are grieved that we have sinned. 2. For time to come we are resolved by God's grace to walk in new obedience; and yet seeing we are not angels, but men and women, compassed about with infirmities and temptations, it is possible we may fall, but if we do, it is our declared resolution to submit to admonition and censure, according to the rule of the Gospel." And all along he took care so to manage his admissions to that ordinance, as that the weak might not be discouraged, and yet the ordinance might not be profaned. He would tell those whom he was necessitated to debar from the ordinance for ignorance, that he would undertake, if they were but truly willing, they might in a week's time, by the blessing of God, upon their diligent use of means, reading, prayer, and conference, get such a competent measure of knowledge, as to be able to discern the Lord's body. And those that had been scandalous, if they would but come in and declare their repentance, and resolutions of new obedience, they should no longer be excluded.

To give a specimen of his lively administrations of that ordinance, let me transcribe the notes of his exhortation at the first Sacrament that ever he administered, Nov. 27, 1659. I suppose they are but the hints of what he enlarged more upon, for he had always a great fluency upon such occasions.

"Dearly beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, we are met together this day about the most solemn weighty service under Heaven; we are come to a feast, where the feast-maker is God the Father, the provision God the Son, whose flesh is meat indeed, and whose blood is drink indeed; the guests a company of poor sinners, unworthy
such

such an honour; the crumbs under the table were too good for us, and yet we are admitted to taste of the provision upon the table; and that which makes the feast is hearty welcome: God the Father bids you welcome; and ten thousand welcomes this day, to the flesh and blood of his Son. Think you hear him saying it to you, *O believing souls*, (Cant. v. 1.) *eat, O friends, drink, yea, drink abundantly, O beloved*. The end of this feast is to keep in remembrance the death of Christ, and our deliverance by it, and thereby to convey spiritual nourishment and refreshment to our souls. But withal, give me leave to ask you one question. What appetite have you to this feast? Are you come hungering and thirsting? such as have the promise, they shall be filled. He filleth the hungry with good things, but the rich are sent empty away; a honey-comb to a full soul is no honey-comb—Canst thou say as Christ said? *With desire I have desired to eat this*. In this ordinance here is Christ and all his benefits exhibited to thee. Art thou weak? Here is *bread* to strengthen thee. Art thou sad? Here is *wine* to comfort thee. What is it thou standest in need of? a pardon? Here it is sealed in blood, take it by faith, as I offer it to you in the name of the Lord Jesus; though thy sins have been as scarlet, they shall be as wool, if thou be willing and obedient. It may be, here are some that have been drunkards, swearers, scoffers at godliness, Sabbath-breakers, and what not? and God hath put it into your hearts to humble yourselves, to mourn for and turn from all your abominations; O come hither, here is forgiveness for thee. What else is it thou wantest? O (saith the poor soul) I would have more of the spirit of grace, more power against sin, especially my own iniquity: why, here it is for thee, *from the fulness, that*

that is in Jesus Christ we receive, and grace for grace (John i. 16.) We may say as David did, (Psal. cviii. 7, 8.) *God hath spoken in his holiness, and then Gilead is mine, and Manasseh mine*: so God hath spoken in his word sealed in his Sacrament, and then Christ is mine, pardon is mine, grace is mine, comfort mine, glory mine; here I have his bond to shew for it. This is to those among you, that have engaged their hearts to approach unto God this day.

“ But if there be any come hither with a false, unbelieving, filthy, hard heart, I do warn you seriously, and with authority, in the name of Jesus Christ, presume not to come any nearer to this sacred ordinance. You that live in the practice of any sin, or the omission of any duty against your knowledge and conscience; you that have any malice or grudge to any of your neighbours, leave your gift and go your ways; be reconciled to God, be reconciled to your brother, and then come!— Better shame thyself for coming so near, than damn thyself by coming nearer. I testify to those, who say they shall have peace, though they go on still in their trespasses, that there is poison in the bread; take it and eat it at your own peril; there is poison in the cup too, you drink your own damnation. I wash my hands from the guilt of your blood, look you to it. On the other hand, you poor penitent souls that are lost in yourselves, here is a Christ to save you, come, O come ye that are weary and heavy laden, &c.”

It may not be amiss to transcribe also some hints of preparation for the administering of the ordinance of baptism, which I find under his hand at his first setting out in the ministry, as follows:

“ It is a real manifestation of the goodness and love of God to believers, that he hath not only
taken

taken them into covenant with himself, but their seed also; saying, *I will be thy God, and the God of thy seed.* Though to be born of such, doth not necessarily entitle infants to the spiritual mercies of the covenant, for grace doth not run in a blood; we see the contrary many times; even godly parents have wicked children; Abraham had his Ishmael, and Isaac his Esau, yet questionless it doth entitle them to the external privileges of the covenant. *The like figure unto Noah's ark, even baptism doth also now save us:* Noah and all that were his, entered into the ark, though we have cause to doubt whether they all entered into Heaven. While our Lord Jesus was here upon the earth, they brought little children to him, and he laid his hands on them, and blessed them; and said moreover, *Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not,* (there are many at this day that forbid little children to come to Christ); he adds the reason, *for of such is the kingdom of Heaven.* Whether it be meant of the visible Church, often so called in the Gospel, or of the state of glory in another world; either way it affords an argument for proof of infant baptism. When either parent is in covenant with God, their children are also in covenant with him; and being in covenant, they have an undoubted right and title to this ordinance of baptism, which is the seal of the covenant. So that in the administration of this ordinance, this day, according to the institution of Jesus Christ, we look upon you who are the father of this child, as a person in covenant with God. How far you have dealt unfaithfully in the covenant, is known to God and your own conscience; but this we know, the vows of God are upon you; and let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity. But before we baptize

baptize your child, I am to acquaint you in a few words what we expect from you.

“ Question 1. Do you avouch God in Jesus Christ this day to be your God?—See to it that this be done in truth and with a perfect heart: you may tell us you do so, and you may deceive us, but God is not mocked. Q. 2. And is it your desire, that your children also may be received into covenant with the Lord, and that the Lord's broad-seal of baptism may be set to it? Q. 3. And do you promise in the presence of God and of this congregation, that you will do your endeavour towards the training of it up in the way of godliness, that as it is by you through mercy that it lives the life of nature, so it may by you also, through the same mercy, live the life of grace; else I must tell you, if you be wanting herein, there will be a sad appearance one day, when you shall meet together before the judgment-seat of Christ, and this solemn engagement of yours will be brought in to witness against you?”

These were but the first instances of his skilfulness in dispensing the mysteries of the kingdom of God. He declined the private administration of the Lord's Supper to sick persons, as judging it not consonant to the rule and intention of the ordinance. He very rarely, if ever, baptized in private; but would have children brought to the solemn assembly upon the Lord's Day, that the parent's engagement might have the more witnesses to it, and the child the more prayers put up for it, and that the congregation might be edified. And yet he would say, there was some inconvenience in it too, unless people would agree to put off the feasting part of the solemnity to some other time, which he very much persuaded his friends to; and observed, that Abraham made a great feast the

same day that *Isaac was weaned*, (Gen. xxi. 8.) not the same day that he was circumcised.

His carriage towards the people of his parish was very exemplary, condescending to the meanest, and conversing familiarly with them; bearing with the infirmities of the weak, and becoming all things to all men. He was exceeding tender of giving offence, or occasion of grief to any body, minding himself in his diary upon such occasions, that the wisdom that is from above, is *pure, and peaceable, and gentle, &c.* Yet he plainly and faithfully re-proved what he saw amiss in any, and would not suffer sin upon them; mourning also for that which he could not mend. There were some untractable people in the parish, who sometimes caused grief to him, and exercised his boldness and zeal in re-proving. Once hearing of a merry meeting at an alehouse on a Saturday night, he went himself and broke it up, and scattered them. At another time, he publicly witnessed against a frolic of some vain people, that on a Saturday night came to the church with a fidler before them, and dressed it up with flowers and garlands, making it (as he told them) more like a play-house; and was this their preparation for the Lord's Day, and the duties of it? &c. He minded them of Eccl. xi. 9. *Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, but know thou—*

Many out of the neighbouring parishes attended upon his ministry, and some came from far, though sometimes he signified his dislike of their so doing, so far was he from glorying in it. But they who had spiritual senses exercised to discern things that differ, would attend upon that ministry which they found to be most edifying.

He was about eight years from first to last, labouring in the word and doctrine at Worthenbury, and his labour was not altogether in vain: he saw in

in many of the travel of his soul to the rejoicing of his heart, but with this particular dispensation (which I have heard him sometimes speak of) that most or all of those in that parish whom he was (through grace) instrumental of good to, died before he left the parish, or quickly after: so that within a few years after his removal thence, there were very few of the visible fruits of his ministry there; and a new generation sprung up there, who knew not Joseph. Yet the opportunity he found there was of doing the more good, by having those that were his charge near about him, made him all his days bear his testimony to parish-order, where it may be had upon good terms, as much more eligible, and more likely to answer the end, than the congregational way of gathering churches from places far distant, which could not ordinarily meet to worship God together. From his experience here (though he would say we must do what we can, when we cannot do what we would) he often wished and prayed for the opening of a door, by which to return to that order again.

He had not been long at Worthenbury, but he began to be taken notice of by the neighbouring ministers, as likely to be a considerable man. Though his extraordinary modesty and humility (which even in his youth he was remarkable for) made him to sit down with silence *in the lowest room*, and to say as Elihu, *days shall speak*; yet his eminent gifts and graces could not long be hid, the ointment of the right hand will betray itself; and a person of his merits could not but meet with those quickly, who said, *Friend, go up higher*; and so that Scripture was fulfilled, Luke xiv. 10. He was often called upon to preach the week-day lectures, which were set up plentifully, and diligently attended upon in those parts, and his labours

were generally very acceptable and successful. The *vox populi* fastened upon him the epithet of *Heavenly Henry*, by which title he was commonly known all the country over; and his advice was sought for by many neighbouring ministers and Christians, for he was one of those that found favour and good understanding in the sight of God and man. He was noted at his first setting out (as I have been told by one who was then intimately acquainted with him, and with his character and conversation) for three things. 1. Great piety and devotion, and a mighty savour of godliness in all his converse. 2. Great industry in the pursuit of useful knowledge; he was particularly observed to be very inquisitive when he was among the aged and intelligent, hearing them, and asking them questions; a good example to young men, especially young ministers. 3. Great self-denial, self-diffidence, and self-abasement; this eminent humility put a lustre upon all his other graces. This character of him, minds me of a passage I have sometimes heard him tell, as a check to the forwardness and confidence of young men, that once at a meeting of ministers, a question of moment was started, to be debated among them; upon the first proposal of it, a confident young man shoots his bolt presently, "Truly," saith he, "I hold it so." "You hold, sir," saith a grave minister, "it becomes you to hold your peace."

Besides his frequent preaching of the lectures about him, he was a constant and diligent attendant upon those within his reach, as a hearer; and not only wrote the sermons he heard, but afterwards recorded in his diary what in each sermon reached his heart, affected him and did him good; adding some proper, pious ejaculations, which were the
breathings

breathings of his heart, when he meditated upon, and prayed over the sermon.

What a wonderful degree of piety and humility doth it evidence, for one of so great acquaintance with the things of God to write, "This I learnt out of such a sermon," and "this was the truth I made up to myself out of such a sermon!" and indeed something out of every sermon. His diligent improvement of the word preached contributed (more than any one thing, as a means) to his great attainments in knowledge and grace. He would say sometimes, that one great use of week-day lectures was, that it gave ministers an opportunity of hearing one another preach, by which they are likely to profit, when they hear not as masters, but as scholars, not as censors, but as learners.

His great friend and companion, and fellow-labourer in the work of the Lord, was the worthy Mr. Richard Steel (minister of Hanmer, one of the next parishes to Worthenbury) whose praise is in the churches of Christ, for his excellent and useful treatises, *The Husbandman's Calling*; *An Antidote against Distractions*, and several others. He was Mr. Henry's *alter idem*, the man of his counsel; with him he joined frequently at Hanmer and elsewhere in christian conference, and in days of humiliation and prayer; besides, their meeting with other ministers at public lectures; after which it was usual for them to spend some time among themselves in set disputations in Latin. This was the work that in those days was carried on among ministers, who made it their business, as iron sharpens iron, to provoke one another to love and good works. What was done of this kind in Worcestershire, Mr. Baxter tells us⁶ in his Life.

⁶ Mr. Baxter tells us.] Part 2, p. 148, &c.

In the beginning of his days he often laboured under bodily distempers; it was feared that he was in a consumption; and some blamed him for taking so much pains in his ministerial work, suggesting to him, "Master spare thyself." One of his friends told him, he lighted up all his pound of candles together; and that he could not hold out long at that rate; and wished him to be a better husband of his strength: but he often reflected upon it with comfort afterwards, that he was not influenced by such suggestions: "the more we do, the more we may do," so he would sometimes say, "in the service of God." When his work was sometimes more than ordinary, and bore hard upon him, he thus appealed to God; "thou knowest, Lord, how well contented I am to spend and to be spent in thy service; and if the outward man decay, O, let the inward man be renewed." Upon the returns of his indisposition he expresseth a great concern how to get spiritual good by it; to come out of the furnace, and leave some dross behind; for it is a great loss to lose an affliction. He mentions it as that which he hoped did him good, that he was ready to look upon every return of distemper, as a summons to the grave; thus he learned to die daily. "I find," saith he, "my earthly tabernacle tottering, and when it is taken down, I shall have a building in heaven, that shall never fail. Blessed be God the Father, and my Lord Jesus Christ, and the good Spirit of grace. Even so, amen." This was both his strength and his song, under his bodily infirmities.

While he was at Worthenbury he constantly laid by the tenth of his income for the poor, which he carefully and faithfully disposed of, in the liberal things which he devised, especially the teaching of poor children: and he would recommend it as a
good

good rule to *lay by* for charity (in some proportion, according as the circumstances are) and then it will be the easier to *lay out* in charity; we shall be the more apt to seek for opportunities of doing good, when we have money lying by us, of which we have said, "this is not our own, but the poor's." To encourage himself and others to works of charity, he would say, "he is no fool who parts with that which he cannot keep, when he is sure to be recompensed with that which he cannot lose." And yet to prove alms to be no righteousness, and to exclude all boasting of them, he often expressed himself in those words of David, *of thine own, Lord, have we given thee.*

In the year 1658, the ministers of that neighbourhood began to enlarge their correspondence with the ministers of North Wales; and several meetings they had at Ruthin, and other places, that year, for the settling of a correspondence, and the promoting of unity and love, and good understanding among themselves, by entering into an association, like those some years before of Worcestershire and Cumberland, to which, as their pattern (those two having been published) they did refer themselves. They appointed particular associations; and (notwithstanding the differences of apprehension that were among them; some being in their judgments *episcopal*, others *congregational*, and others *classical*) they agreed to lay aside the thoughts of matters in variance, and to give to each other the right hand of fellowship; that with one shoulder and with one consent, they might study each in their places to promote the common interests of Christ's kingdom, and the common salvation of precious souls. He observed that this year, after the death of Oliver Cromwell, there was generally throughout the nation, a great change in
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the temper of God's people, and a mighty tendency towards peace and unity, as if they were by consent weary of their long clashings, which in his diary he expresseth his great rejoicing in, and the hopes that the time was at hand, when *Judah should no longer vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim envy Judah, neither should they learn war any more.* And though these hopes were soon disappointed by a change of the scene, yet he would often speak of the experience of that and the following year in those parts, as a specimen of what may yet be expected, (and therefore in faith prayed for) when the spirit shall be poured out upon us from on high. But alas! who shall live when God doth this? From this experience he likewise gathered this observation, that it is not so much our difference of opinion that doth us the mischief; (for we may as soon expect all the clocks in the town to strike together, as to see all good people of a mind in every thing on this side of heaven) but the mismanagement of that difference.

In the association of the ministers it was referred to Mr. Henry to draw up that part of their agreement which concerned the worship of God, which task he performed to their satisfaction. His preface to what he drew up begins thus: "Though the main of our desires and endeavours be after unity in the greater things of God; yet we judge uniformity in the circumstances of worship, a thing not to be altogether neglected by us, not only in regard of that influence, which external visible order hath upon the beauty and comeliness of the churches of Christ; but also as it hath a direct tendency to the strengthening of our hands in ministerial services, and withal to the removing of those prejudices which many people have conceived, even against religion and worship itself.

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We bless God from our very souls, for that whereunto we have already attained; and yet we hope some further thing may be done, in reference to our closer walking by the same rule, and minding the same things. The word of God is the rule which we desire and resolve to walk by in the administration of ordinances; and for those things wherein the word is silent, we think we may and ought to have recourse to christian prudence, and the practice of the reformed churches, agreeing with the general rules of the word: and therefore we have had (as we think we ought) in our present agreement, a special eye to *the Directory, &c.*"

These agreements of theirs were the more likely to be for good; for that here (as in Worcestershire) when they were in agitation, the ministers set apart a day of fasting and prayer among themselves to bewail ministerial neglects, and to seek to God for direction and success in their ministerial work. They met sometimes for this purpose at Mr. Henry's house at Worthenbury.

One passage may not improperly be inserted here; that once at a meeting of the ministers, being desired to subscribe a certificate concerning one whom he had not sufficient acquaintance with, he refused, giving this reason, "that he preferred the peace of his conscience before the friendship of all the men in the world."

September 29, 1658, the lady Puleston died. "She was," saith he, "the best friend I had on earth; but my friend in heaven is still where he was, and he will never leave me nor forsake me." He preached her funeral sermon from Isaiah iii. last verse: *Cease from man, whose breath is in his nostrils.* He hath noted this expression of her's not long before she died: "My soul leans to Jesus Christ; lean to me, sweet Saviour." About this time

time he writes, "a dark cloud is over my concerns in this family; but my desire is, that whatever becomes of me and my interest, the interest of Christ may still be kept on foot in this place. Amen, so be it." But he adds soon after, that saying of Athanasius, which he was used often to quote and take comfort from; *Nubecula est et cito pertransibit.* It is a little cloud, and will soon blow over.

About a year after, Sept. 5, 1659, Judge Puleston died, and all Mr. Henry's interest in Emeral family was buried in his grave. He preached the Judge's Funeral Sermon, from Neh. xiii. 14. *Wipe not out my good deeds that I have done for the house of my God, and for the offices thereof;* the design of which Sermon was not to applaud his deceased friend; I find not a word in the Sermon to that purpose; but he took occasion from the instance of so great a benefactor to the ministry, as the Judge was, to shew that deeds done for the house of God, and the offices thereof, are good deeds: and to press people according as their ability and opportunity was to do such deeds. One passage I find in that Sermon which ought to be recorded; that it had been for several years the practice of a worthy gentleman in the neighbouring county, in renewing his leases, instead of making it a condition that his tenants should keep a hawk or a dog for him, to oblige them that they should keep a Bible in their houses for themselves, and should bring up their children to learn to read and to be catechized. This (saith he) would be no charge to you, and it might oblige them to that which otherwise they would neglect. "Some wished," (saith he, in his Diary) "that I had chosen some other subject for that Sermon; but I approved myself

self to God, and if I please men, I am not the servant of Christ."

What personal affronts he received from some of the branches of that family at that time, need not be mentioned, but with what exemplary patience he bore them, ought not to be forgotten.

In March, 1658-9, he was very much solicited to leave Worthenbury, and to accept of the vicarage of Wrexham, which was a place that he had both a great interest in, and a great kindness for: but he could not see his call clear from Worthenbury, so he declined it. The same year he had an offer made him of a considerable living near London; but he was not of them that are given to change, nor did he consult with flesh and blood, nor seek great things to himself.

That year he had some disturbance from the Quakers, who were set on by some others, who wished ill to his ministry. They challenged him to dispute with them; and that which he was to prove against them, was, that the God he worshipped was not an idol; that John Baddely (a blacksmith in Malpas, and the ringleader of the Quakers in that country) was not infallible, nor without sin; that baptism with water, and the Lord's Supper, are Gospel ordinances; that the Scriptures are the word of God; and that Jesus Christ will come to judge the world at the last day. But he never had any public disputes with them, nor so much disturbance from them in public worship, as some other ministers had elsewhere about that time. He had some apprehensions at that time, that God would make the Quakers a scourge to this nation; but had comfort in this assurance, that God would in due time vindicate his own honour, and the honour of his ordinances, and those
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of them who will not repent to give him glory, will be cast into the fire.

One passage I cannot omit, because it discovers what kind of spirit the quakers were of. A debauched gentleman being in his revels at Malpas, drinking and swearing, was after a sort reproved for it by Baddely the quaker, who was in his company; "Why," saith the gentleman, "I will ask thee one question; whether is it better for me to follow drinking and swearing, or to go and hear Henry?" He answered, "Of the two, rather follow thy drinking and swearing."

The Cheshire rising this year (in opposition to the irregular powers that then were uppermost) under sir George Booth (afterwards lord Delamere) and that of North Wales, under sir Thomas Middleton, could not but affect Worthenbury, and the country thereabouts. Mr. Henry's prayer for them in his diary, the day of their first appearing, is, "Lord, own them, if they truly own thee." He notes, that Lambert's forces which came down to suppress them, did in that neighbourhood espouse the quakers' cause, and offer injury to some ministers; "and therefore," saith he, "unless God intend the ruin of the nation by them, they cannot prosper:" nor did they long, though in that expedition they had success. In their return, some of Lambert's soldiers were at Worthenbury church, hearing Mr. Henry upon a Lord's day; and one of them sat with his hat on, while they were singing psalms, for which he publicly admonished him: and there being many anabaptists among them, he hath recorded it as a good providence, that those questions in the catechism which are concerning baptism, came in course to be expounded that day. The first rising of the Cheshire forces was Aug. 1,
1659,

1659, and the 19th following they were worsted and scattered by Lambert's forces, near Northwich, a strange spirit of fear being upon them, which quite took off their chariot wheels. The country called it not the Cheshire rising, but the Cheshire race. Some blamed him that he did not give God thanks publicly for the defeat of sir George Booth; to whom he answered, with his usual mildness, "that his apprehensions concerning that affair were not the same with theirs. We are now," saith he, "much in the dark; never more." He preached the lecture at Chester soon after, just at the time when Mr. Cook, an eminent minister in Chester, and several others, were carried prisoners to London, for their agency in the late attempt; and the city was threatened to have their charter taken away, &c. The text in course that day (for they preached over the latter part of that epistle, if not the whole, at that lecture) happened to be Heb. xiii. 14. *We have here no continuing city*, which he thought a word upon the wheels at that time. He notes in his diary, that when, after that, the army ruled, disturbed the parliament, and carried all before them with a high hand, there were great grounds to fear sad times approaching; and his prayer is, "Lord, fit thy people for the fiery trial."

He was a hearty well-wisher to the return of the king, the spring following, April 1660, and was much affected with the mercy of it. "While others rejoice carnally," saith he, "Lord, help thy people to rejoice spiritually, in our public national mercies." It was upon that occasion that Mr. Baxter preached his sermon of *Right Rejoicing*, on Luke x. 20. But he and others soon saw cause to rejoice with trembling, and to sing both of mercy and judgment; for about that time he hath this melancholy
remark;

remark; "Religion loses ground exceedingly, and profaneness gets it: help, Lord!" However, he was very industrious to quiet the minds of some who were uneasy at that great revolution; and that Scripture yielded him much satisfaction, (John iii. 35.) *The Father loveth the Son, and hath given all things into his hands.* If Christ be not only the head of the church, but head over all things to the church, we may be assured, that all things shall be made to work together for good to it. The text also which the Lord put it into his heart to preach upon, on the day of public thanksgiving for the king's restoration, was very comfortable to him, (Prov. xxi. 1.) *The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord.* His sense of that great mercy of God to the nation, in the unbloody, peaceable, and legal settlement of king Charles II. upon the throne, was the same with that of multitudes besides, both ministers and others that were of *the quiet in the land*, who yet not long after suffered very hard things under him. Soon after the return of the king, he notes how industrious some were to remove him from Worthenbury, on which he writes this, as the breathing of his soul towards God; "Lord, if it please thee, fasten me here as a nail in a sure place; if otherwise, I will take nothing ill which thou dost with me." And when pressed by his friends more earnestly than before, to accept of some other place, "Lord," saith he, "mine eye is up unto thee. I am wholly at thy disposal; make my way plain before my face, because of mine enemies; my resolution is, to deny myself if thou callest me. Here (or any where, it is no great matter where) I am." Many years after the king's return, he dated a letter, May 29, Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτῇ τῇ γλυχυπίκρᾳ.

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There are two things further which I think it may be of use to give some account of in the close of this chapter. 1. Of the course of his ministry at Worthenbury; and 2. Of the state of his soul, and the communion he had with God in those years.

As to the subjects he preached upon, he did not use to dwell long upon a text. "Better one sermon upon many texts," (viz. many Scriptures opened and applied) "than many sermons upon one text:" to that purpose he would sometimes speak.

He used to preach in a fixed method, and linked his subjects in a sort of a chain. He adapted his method and style to the capacity of his hearers, fetching his similitudes for illustration from those things which were familiar to them. He did not shoot the arrow of the word over their heads in high notions, or the flourishes of affected rhetoric, nor under their feet by blunt and homely expressions, as many do under pretence of plainness, but to their hearts in close and lively applications. His delivery was very graceful and agreeable, far from being either noisy and precipitate on the one hand, or dull and slow on the other. His doctrine did drop as the dew, and distil as the soaking rain, and came with a charming pleasing power, such as many will bear witness to, that have wondered at the gracious words which proceeded out of his mouth.

He wrote the notes of his sermons pretty large for the most part, and always very legible: but even when he had put his last hand to them, he commonly left many imperfect hints, which gave room for enlargements in preaching, wherein he had a great felicity. And he would often advise ministers not to tye themselves too strictly to their notes,

notes, but having well digested the matter before, to allow themselves a liberty of expression, such as a man's affections, if they be well raised, will be apt to furnish him with. But for this, no certain rule can be given; *there are diversities of gifts, and each to profit withal.*

He kept his sermon-notes in very neat and exact order; *sermons in course* according to the order of the subject; and *occasional sermons* according to the scripture-order of the texts; so that he could readily turn to any of them. And yet, though afterwards he was removed to a place far enough distant from any of that auditory, yet (though some have desired it) he seldom preached any of those hundreds of sermons which he had preached at Worthenbury, no not when he preached never so privately, but to the last he studied new sermons, and wrote them as elaborately as ever; for he thought a sermon best preached, when it was newly meditated: nay, if sometimes he had occasion to preach upon the same text, yet he would make and write the sermons over; and he never offered that to God which cost him nothing.

When he went to Oxford, and preached there before the university in Christ-church, as he did several times, his labours were not only very acceptable, but successful too; particularly one sermon which he preached there, on Prov. xiv. 9, *Tools make a mock at sin*; for which sermon a young master of arts came to his chamber afterwards to return him thanks, and to acknowledge the good impressions which divine grace, by that sermon, had made upon his soul, which he hoped he should never forget.

In his diary he frequently records the frame of his spirit in studying and preaching. Sometimes blessing God for signal help vouchsafed, and own-
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ing him the Lord God of all his enlargements ; at other times, complaining of great deadness and straitness. “ It is a wonder,” saith he, “ that I can speak of eternal things, with so little sense of the reality of them. Lord, strengthen that which remains, which is ready to die.” And he once writes thus upon a studying day ; “ I forgot explicitly and expressly, when I began, to crave help from God, and the chariot wheels drove accordingly. Lord, forgive my omissions, and keep me in the way of duty.”

As to the state of his soul in these years, it should seem by his diary, that he was exercised with some doubts and fears concerning it. “ I think,” saith he, “ never did any poor creature pass through such a mixture of hope and fear, joy and sadness, assurance and doubting, down and up, as I have done these years past.” (The notice of this may be of use to poor drooping christians, that they may know their case is not singular ; and that if God for a small moment hide his face from them, he deals with them no otherwise than as he useth sometimes to deal with the dearest of his servants). It would affect one, to hear one that lived a life of communion with God, complaining of great straitness in prayer. “ No life at all in the duty, many wanderings ; if my prayers were written down, and my vain thoughts interlined, what incoherent nonsense would there be ? I am ashamed, Lord, I am ashamed, O pity, and pardon.” To hear him suspecting the workings of pride of heart, when he gave an account to a friend, who enquired of him, touching the success of his ministry, and that he should record this concerning himself, with this ejaculation annexed, “ the Lord pardon and subdue.” It was a sign that

that he kept a very watchful eye upon the motions of his own heart.

To hear him charging it upon himself, that he was present at such a duty in the midst of many distractions, not tasting sweetness in it, &c. "When a fire is first kindled," saith he, "there is a deal of smoke and smother, that afterwards wears away; so in young converts, much peevishness, frowardness, darkness; so it hath been with my soul, and so it is yet in a great measure. Lord, pity, and do not quench the smoaking flax; though as yet it do but smoak, let these sparks be blown up into a flame."

"Great mercies, but poor returns; signal opportunities, but small improvements:" such are his complaints frequently concerning himself. And though few or none excelled him in profitable discourse, yet in that he often bewails his barrenness and unprofitableness. "Little good done or gotten such a day, for want of a heart; it is my sin and shame. O that I had wings like a dove!"

Yet when he wanted a faith of assurance, he lived by a faith of adherence. "Such a day," saith he, "a full resignation was made of all my concernments, into the hands of my Heavenly Father; let him deal with me as seemeth good in his eyes: I am learning and labouring to live by faith; Lord, help my unbelief." Another time he notes that many perplexing fears being upon his spirit, they were all silenced with that sweet word which was seasonably brought to his remembrance, *Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer.*

He very frequently kept days of fasting and humiliation in secret, which he calls his days of atonement. Sometimes he observed these monthly, and sometimes only upon special occasions; but the memorandums in his diary (not only while he was

at Worthenbury, but often after) shew what sweet communion he had with God in those solemn duties, which no eye was witness to, but his who *sees in secret, and will reward openly.* “Remember (O my soul) such a day, as a day of more than ordinary engagements entered into, and strong resolutions taken up of closer walking, and more watchfulness, O my God, undertake for me!” And upon another of those days of secret prayer and humiliation, he notes, “if sowing in tears be so sweet, what then will the harvest be, when I shall reap in joy? *Bless the Lord, O my soul, who forgiveth all thine iniquities, and will in due time heal all thy diseases.*”

CHAP. IV.

His Marriage, Family, Family-Religion, and the Education of his Children.

HE removed from Emeral, to the house in Worthenbury, which the judge had built for him, in February 1658-9, and then had one of his sisters with him to keep his house. No sooner had he a tent, but God had an altar in it, and that a smoking altar. There he set up repetition on sabbath-evenings, and welcomed his neighbours to it.

His christian friends often, and sometimes his brethren in the ministry, kept days of fasting and prayer at his house. He used to tell people when they had built new houses, they must dedicate them, (referring to Deut. xx. 5. and Psalm xxx. ult.) that

is, they must invite God to their houses, and devote them to his service.

Providence having thus brought him into a house of his own, soon after provided him a help-mate for him. After a long agitation, and some discouragement and opposition from the father, April 26, 1660, he married Catharine, the only daughter and heir of Mr. Daniel Matthews, of Broad-Oak, in the township of Iscoyd, in Flintshire (but in the parish of Malpas, which is in Cheshire, and about two miles distant from Whitchurch, a considerable market town in Shropshire). Mr. Matthews was a gentleman of a very competent estate; such a one as king James the First used to say was the happiest lot of all others, which set a man below the office of a justice of peace, and above that of a petty constable. This was his only child: very fair and honourable overtures had been made for her disposal; but it pleased God so to order events, and to over-rule the spirits of those concerned, that she was reserved to be a blessing to this good man, in things pertaining *both to life and godliness*.

His purpose of marriage was published in the church three Lord's days before, a laudable practice, which he greatly approved, and persuaded others to.

The day before his marriage, he kept as a day of secret prayer and fasting.

He used to say, those who would have comfort in that change of their condition, must see to it, that they bring none of the guilt of the sin of their single state with them into the married state. And the presence of Christ at a wedding, will turn the water into wine; and he will come, if he be invited by prayer.

He took all occasions while he lived, to express
his

his thankfulness to God, for the great comfort he had in this relation. "A day of mercy" (so he writes on his marriage day) "never to be forgotten." "God had given him one" (as he writes afterwards) "every way his helper, in whom he had much comfort, and for whom he thanked God with all his heart." He writes in his diary, April 26, 1680; "This day we have been married twenty years, in which time we have received of the Lord more than twenty thousand mercies; to God be glory!" Sometimes he writes, "we have been so long married, and *never reconciled*;" that is, there never was any occasion for it. His usual prayer for his friends in the married state, was according to his own practise in that state; "that they might be mutually serviceable to each other's faith and holiness, and jointly serviceable to God's honour and glory."

Her father, though he put some hardships upon him in the terms, and had been somewhat averse to the match, yet by Mr. Henry's great prudence, and God's good providence, he was influenced to give a free consent to it; and he himself, with his own hand, gave her in marriage. From this, as from other experiences, Mr. Henry had learned to say with assurance; "It is not in vain to wait upon God, and to keep his way." Mr. Matthews settled part of his estate before marriage upon them and theirs: he lived about seven years after; and when he died, the remainder of it came to them. This competent estate which the divine providence brought into his hand, was not only a comfortable support to him when he was turned out of his living, and when many faithful ministers of Christ were reduced to great poverty and straits; but it enabled him likewise, as he had opportunity, to preach the Gospel freely, which he did to his dying day;

day; and not only so, but to give for the relief of others that were in want, in which he sowed plentifully, to a very large proportion of his income; and often blessed God that he had wherewithal, remembering the words of the Lord, how he said, *It is more blessed to give than to receive.*

Such was his house, and such the vine which God graciously planted by the side of his house. By her, God gave him six children, all born within less than eight years; the two eldest, sons, John and Matthew: the other four, daughters, Sarah, Catharine, Eleanor, and Ann. His eldest son, John, died of the measles in the sixth year of his age; and the rest were in mercy continued to him.

The Lord having built him up into a family, he was careful and faithful in making good his solemn vow at his ordination, that *he and his house would serve the Lord.* He would often say, "that we are really, which we are relatively." It is not so much what we are at church, as what we are in our families. Religion in the power of it will be *family religion.* In this his practice was very exemplary; he was one that walked before his house in a perfect way, with a perfect heart, and therein behaved himself wisely. His constant prayer and prudent endeavour was not only to put away iniquity far from his tabernacle, but that where he dwelt, the word of Christ might dwell richly. If he might have no other church, yet he had a church in his house.

He made conscience of *closet-worship*, and did abound in it, not making his *family-worship* to excuse for that. He hath this affecting note in his diary, upon the removing of his closet but from one room in the house to another. "This day," saith he, "my new closet was consecrated, if I may

may so say, with this prayer; *that all the prayers that ever should be made in it, according to the will of God, morning, evening, and at noon-day, ordinary or extraordinary, might be accepted of God, and obtain a gracious answer. Amen and amen.*"

It was the caution and advice which he frequently gave to his children and friends; "Be sure you look to your secret duty; keep that up whatever you do. The soul cannot prosper in the neglect of it." He observed that apostacy generally begins at the closet-door. Secret prayer is first neglected, and carelessly performed, then frequently omitted, and after awhile wholly cast off; and then farewell God and Christ and all religion.

He also advised that secret duty be performed secretly; which was the admonition he gave sometimes to those who caused their voice to be heard on high in that duty.

Besides this, he and his wife constantly prayed together morning and evening; and never, if they were together at home or abroad, was it intermitted; and from his own experience of the benefit of this practice, he would take all opportunities to recommend it to those in that relation, as conducing very much to the comfort of it, and to their furtherance in that, which he would often say is the great duty of yoke-fellows: and that is, to do all they can to help one another to heaven. He would say, that this duty of husbands and wives praying together, is intimated in that of the apostle, (1 Pet. iii. 7.) where they are exhorted to *live as heirs together of the grace of life, that their prayers* (especially their prayers together) *be not hindered*; that nothing may be done to hinder them from praying together, nor to hinder them in it, nor to spoil the success of those prayers. This sanctifies the relation, and fetcheth in a blessing upon

upon it, makes the comforts of it the more sweet, and the cares and crosses of it the more easy, and is an excellent means of preserving and increasing love in the relation. Many to whom he hath recommended the practice of this duty, have blessed God for him, and for his advice concerning it. When he was abroad, and lay with any of his friends, he would mind them of his rule, "that they who lay together must pray together." In the performance of this part of his daily worship, he was usually short, but often much affected.

Besides these he made conscience, and made a business of *family-worship* in all the parts of it; and in it he was uniform, steady, and constant, from the time that he was first called to the charge of a family, to his dying day; and according to his own practice, he took all occasions to press it upon others. His doctrine once from Josh. xxiv. 15. was, that family-worship is family-duty. He would say sometimes, if the worship of God be not in the house, write, *Lord, have mercy on us*, upon the door; for there is a plague, a curse in it. It is the judgment of archbishop Tillotson, in that excellent book which he published a little before his death, upon this subject; "that constant family-worship is so necessary to keep alive a sense of God and religion in the minds of men, that he sees not how any family that neglects it, can in reason be esteemed a family of Christians, or indeed to have any religion at all." How earnestly would Mr. Henry reason with people sometimes about this matter, and tell them what a blessing it would bring upon them and their houses, and all that they had. He that makes his house a little church, shall find, that God will make it a little sanctuary. It may be of use to give a particular account of his practice in this matter, because it was very exemplary.

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As to the time of it, his rule was, commonly, the earlier the better, both morning and evening; in the morning before worldly business crowded in, *early will I seek thee*. He that is the first should have the first; nor is it fit that the worship of God should stand by and wait while the world's turn is served. And early in the evening, before the children and servants began to be sleepy; and therefore, if it might be, he would have prayer at night before supper, that the body might be the more fit to serve the soul in that service of God. And indeed he did industriously contrive all the circumstances of his family-worship, so as to make it most solemn and most likely to answer the end. He always made it the business of every day, and not (as too many make it) a by-business. This being his fixed principle, all other affairs must be sure to give way to this. And he would tell those who objected against family-worship, *that they could not get time for it*; that if they would but put on Christian resolution at first, they would not find the difficulty so great as they imagined; but after awhile, their other affairs would fall in easily and naturally with this, especially where there is that wisdom which is profitable to direct. Nay, they would find it to be a great preserver of order and decency in a family, and it would be like a hem to all their other business, to keep it from ravelling. He was ever careful to have all his family present at family-worship. Though sometimes, living in the country, he had a great household; yet he would have not only his children and sojourners (if he had any) and domestic servants, but his workmen and day-labourers, and all that were employed for him, if they were within call to be present, to join with him in this service; and as it was an act of his charity many times to set them

them to work for him, so to that he added this act of piety, to set them to work for God. And usually when he paid his workmen their wages, he gave them some good counsel about their souls. Yet if any that should come to family-worship were at a distance, and must be staid for long, he would rather want them, than put the duty much out of time; and would sometimes say at a night, "better one away than all sleepy."

The performances of his family-worship were the same morning and evening. He observed that under the law, the morning and the evening lamb, had the same meat-offering and drink-offering, (Exod. xxix. 38. 41.) He always began with a short, but very solemn prayer, imploring the divine presence and grace, assistance and acceptance; particularly begging a blessing upon the word to be read, in reference to which he often put up this petition; "That the same Spirit that indited the Scripture, would enable us to understand the Scripture, and to make up something to ourselves out of it that may do us good:" and esteeming the word of God as his necessary food, he would sometimes pray in a morning, "that our souls might have a good meal out of it." He commonly concluded even this short prayer, as he did also his blessings before and after meat, with a doxology, as Paul upon all occasions, *to him be glory, &c.* which is properly adoration, and is an essential part of prayer.

He next sung a psalm, and commonly he sung David's psalms in order, throughout; sometimes using the old translation, but generally Mr. Barton's; and his usual way was to sing a whole psalm throughout, though perhaps a long one, and to sing quick; (yet with a good variety of proper and pleasant tunes) and that he might do so, usually the
psalm

psalm was sung without reading the line betwixt (every one in the family having a book); which he preferred much before the common way of singing, where it might conveniently be done, as more agreeable to the practice of the primitive church, and the reformed churches abroad; and by this means he thought the duty more likely to be performed in the spirit, and with the understanding; the sense being not so broken, nor the affections interrupted, as in reading the line betwixt. He would say, that a scripture ground for singing psalms in families, might be taken from Psalm cxviii. 15. *The voice of rejoicing and of salvation, is in the tabernacles of the righteous*; and that it is a way to hold forth godliness (like Rahab's scarlet thread, Josh. ii. 17.) to such as pass by our windows.

He next read a portion of Scripture, taking the Bible in order. He would sometimes blame those who only pray in their families, and do not read the Scripture. "In prayer we speak to God; by the word he speaks to us; and is there any reason" (saith he) "that we should speak all?" In the Tabernacle the priests were every day *to burn incense*, and *to light the lamps*; the former figuring the duty of prayer, the latter the duty of reading the word. Sometimes he would say, "those do well that pray morning and evening in their families; those do better, that pray and read the Scriptures; but those do best of all that pray, and read, and sing psalms; and Christians should *covet earnestly the best gifts*."

He advised the reading of the Scripture in order; for though one star in the firmament of the Scripture differ from another star in glory, yet wherever God hath a mouth to speak, we should have an ear to hear; and the diligent searcher may find much
excellent

excellent matter in those parts of Scripture, which we are sometimes tempted to think, might have been spared. How affectionately would he sometimes bless God for every book, and chapter, and verse, and line in the Bible!

What he read in his family, he always expounded; and exhorted all ministers to do so, as an excellent means of increasing their acquaintance with the Scripture. His expositions were not so much critical as plain, and practical, and useful; and such as tended to edification, and to answer the end for which the Scriptures were written, which is to make us wise to salvation. And herein he had a peculiar excellence, performing that daily exercise with so much judgment, and at the same time with such facility and clearness, as if every exposition had been premeditated; and very instructive they were, as well as affecting to the auditors. His observations were many times very pretty and surprising, and such as one shall not ordinarily meet with. Commonly in his expositions he reduced the matter of the chapter or psalm read, to some heads; not by a logical analysis, which often minceth it too small, and confounds the sense with the terms; but by such a distribution as the matter did most easily and unforcedly fall into. He often mentioned that saying of Tertullian's, "I adore the fulness of the Scriptures;" and sometimes that, "*Scriptura semper habet aliquid relegendibus.*" When sometimes he had hit upon some useful observation that was new to him, he would say afterwards to those about him, "How often have I read this chapter, and never before now took notice of such a thing in it!" he put his children, while they were with him, to write these expositions; and when they were gone from him, the strangers that sojourned with him did the same. What collec-
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tions his children had, though but broken and very imperfect hints, yet, when afterwards they were disposed of in the world, were of good use to them and their families. Some expositions of this nature, that is, plain and practical, and helping to raise the affections and guide the conversation by the word, he often wished were published by some good hand for the benefit of families: but such was his great modesty and self-diffidence (though few more able for it) that he would never be persuaded to attempt any thing of that kind himself. As an evidence how much his heart was upon it, to have the word of God read and understood in families, take this passage out of his last will and testament: "I give and bequeath to each of my four daughters, Mr. Pool's English Annotations upon the Bible, in two volumes, of the last and best edition that shall be to be had at the time of my decease, together with Mr. Barton's last and best Translation of the Singing Psalms, one to each of them; requiring and requesting them to make daily use of the same, for the instruction, edification, and comfort of themselves and their families." But it is time we proceed to the method of his family worship.

The chapter or psalm being read and expounded, he required from his children some account of what they could remember of it; and sometimes would discourse with them plainly and familiarly about it, that he might lead them into an acquaintance with it; and (if it might be) impress something of it upon their hearts.

He then prayed, and always kneeling, which he looked upon as the fittest and most proper gesture for prayer; and he took care that his family should address themselves to the duty, with the outward expressions of reverence and composedness. He usually

usually fetched his matter and expressions in prayer, from the chapter that was read, and the psalm that was sung, which was often very affecting, and helped much to stir up and excite praying graces. He sometimes observed in those psalms, where reference is had to the Scripture stories, as Psalm lxxxiii. and many others, that those who are well acquainted with the Scriptures, would not need to make use of the help of prescribed forms, which are very necessary for those that cannot do the duty without them, but are unbecoming those that can; as a go-cart is needful to a child, or crutches to one that is lame, but neither of them agreeable to one that needs them not: it was the comparison he commonly used in this matter. In family prayer he was usually most full in giving thanks for family mercies, confessing family sins, and begging family blessings. Very particular he would sometimes be in prayer for his family; if any were absent, they were sure to have an express petition put up for them. He used to observe concerning Job, (Chap. i. 5.) that he offered burnt-offerings for his children, *according to the number of them all*, an offering for each child; and so would he sometimes in praying for his children, put up a petition for each child. He always observed at the annual return of the birth-day of each of his children, to bless God for his mercy to him and his wife in that child; the giving of it, the continuance of it, the comfort they had in it, &c. with some special request to God for that child. Every servant and sojourner, at their coming into his family and their going out (besides the daily remembrances of them) had a particular petition put up for them, according as their circumstances were. The strangers that were at any time within his gates, he was wont particularly to recommend to God in prayer, with

with much affection, and Christian concern for them and their concernments. He was daily mindful of those that desired his prayers for them, and would say sometimes, "it is a great comfort that God knows whom we mean in prayer, though we do not name them." Particular providences concerning the country, as to health or sickness, good or bad weather, or the like, he commonly took notice of in prayer, as there was occasion; and would often beg of God to fit us for the next providence, whatever it might be: nor did he ever forget to pray for the peace of Jerusalem. He always concluded family prayer, both morning and evening, with a solemn benediction, after the doxology; *the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be with us, &c.* Thus did he daily *bless his household.*

Immediately after the prayer was ended, his children together, with bended knee, asked blessing⁷ of him and their mother; that is, desired of them to pray to God to bless them: which blessing was given with great solemnity and affection; and if any of them were absent, they were remembered, "The Lord bless you and your brother," or "you and your sister that is absent."

This was his daily worship, which he never altered (unless as is after mentioned), nor ever omitted any part of, though he went from home never so early, or returned never so late, or had never so much business for his servants to do. He would say that sometimes he saw cause to shorten them; but he would never omit any; for if an excuse be once admitted for an omission, it will be often returning. He was not willing (unless the

⁷ *Asked blessing.*] See Life of Nicholas Ferrar, Vol. V. p. 165.

necessity were urgent) that any should go from his house in a morning before family worship; but upon such an occasion would mind his friends, that "prayer and provender never hinder a journey."

He managed his daily family-worship, so as to make it a pleasure and not a task to his children and servants; for he was seldom long and never tedious in the service; the variety of the duties made it the more pleasant; so that none who joined with him had ever any reason to say, *behold what a weariness is it!* such an excellent faculty he had of rendering religion the most sweet and amiable employment in the world; and so careful was he (like Jacob) *to drive as the children could go*, not putting *new wine into old bottles*. If some good people that mean well would do likewise, it might prevent many of those prejudices which young persons are apt to conceive against religion, when the services of it are made a toil and a terror to them.

On Thursday evenings (instead of reading) he catechized his children and servants in the *Assemblies Catechism*, with the proofs, or sometimes in a little Catechism, *concerning the matter of prayer*, published in the year 1674, and said to be written by Dr. Collins, which they learned for their help in the gift of prayer, and he explained it to them. Or else they read, and he examined them in some other useful book, as Mr. Pool's *Dialogues against the Papists*, the *Assemblies Confession of Faith* with the Scriptures, or the like.

On Saturday evenings, his children and servants gave him an account what they could remember of the chapters that had been expounded all the week before, in order, each a several part, helping one another's memories for the recollecting of it. This he

he called, *gathering up the fragments which remained, that nothing might be lost.* He would say to them sometimes as Christ to his disciples, *Have ye understood all these things?* If not, he took that occasion to explain them more fully. This exercise (which he constantly kept up all along) was both delightful and profitable, and being managed by him with so much prudence and sweetness, helped to instil into those about him betimes, the knowledge and love of the holy Scriptures.

When he had sojourners in his family, who were able to bear a part in such a service, he had commonly in the winter time, set weekly conferences, on questions proposed, for their mutual edification and comfort in the fear of God; the substance of what was said, he himself took and kept an account of in writing.

But the Lord's Day he called and counted the queen of days, the pearl of the week, and observed it accordingly. The Fourth Commandment intimates a special regard to be had to the Sabbath in families, *Thou and thy son and thy daughter, &c. it is the Sabbath of the Lord in all your dwellings.* In this therefore he was very exact, and abounded in the work of the Lord in his family on that day. Whatever were the circumstances of his public opportunities, (which varied, as we shall find afterwards) his family religion on that day was the same: extraordinary sacrifices must never supersede the *continual burnt-offering and his meat-offering*, (Numb. xxviii. 15.) His common salutation of his family or friends, on the Lord's Day in the morning, was that of the primitive Christians; *The Lord is risen, he is risen indeed*; making it his chief business on that day, to celebrate the memory of Christ's resurrection; and he would say sometimes, "Every Lord's Day, is a true Chris-
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tian's Easter-day." He took care to have his family ready early on that day, and was larger in exposition and prayer on Sabbath mornings, than on other days. He would often remember that under the law the daily sacrifice was doubled on Sabbath days, *two* lambs in the morning, and *two* in the evening. He had always a particular subject for his expositions on Sabbath mornings; the harmony of the Evangelists several times over, the Scripture prayers, Old Testament prophecies of Christ, *Christ the true treasure* (so he entitled that subject) *sought and found in the field of the Old Testament*. He constantly sung a psalm after dinner, and another after supper, on the Lord's Days. And in the evening of the day his children and servants were catechized and examined in the sense and meaning of the answers in the Catechism; that they might not say it (as he used to tell them) *like a parrot, by rote*. Then the day's sermons were repeated, commonly by one of his children, when they were grown up, and while they were with him; and the family gave an account what they could remember of the word of the day, which he endeavoured to fasten upon them, as a nail in a sure place. In his prayers on the evening of the Sabbath, he was often more than ordinarily enlarged; as one that found not only God's service perfect freedom, but his work its own wages, and a *great reward*; not only *after* keeping, but (as he used to observe from Psalm xix. 11.) *in keeping God's Commandments*. A present reward of obedience *in* obedience. In that prayer he was usually very particular in praying for his family and all that belonged to it. It was a prayer he often put up, "that we might have grace to carry it as a minister, and a minister's wife, and a minister's children, and a minister's servants should carry it, that the

the ministry might in nothing be blamed." He would sometimes be a particular intercessor for the towns and parishes adjacent: how have I heard him, when he hath been in the mount with God, in a Sabbath evening prayer, wrestle with the Lord for Chester, and Shrewsbury, and Nantwich, and Wrexham, and Whitchurch, &c. those *nests of souls*, wherein there are so many, that cannot discern between their right hand and their left in spiritual things, &c. He closed his Sabbath work in his family with singing Psalm 134, and after it a solemn blessing of his family.

Thus was he *prophet* and *priest* in his own house; and he was *king* there too, ruling in the fear of God, and not suffering sin upon any under his roof.

He had many years ago a man-servant that was once overtaken in drink abroad; for which, the next morning at family worship, he solemnly re-proved him, admonished him, and prayed for him with a spirit of meekness, and soon after parted with him. But there were many that were his servants, who by the blessing of God upon his endeavours, got those good impressions upon their souls which they retained ever after; and blessed God with all their hearts that ever they came under his roof. Few went from his service till they were married, and went to families of their own; and some, after they had been married and had buried their yoke-fellows, returned to his service again, saying, *Master, it is good to be here.*

He brought up his children in the fear of God, with a great deal of care and tenderness, and did by his practice, as well as upon all occasions in discourses, condemn the indiscretion of those parents who are partial in their affections to their children, making a difference between them, which

he observed did often prove of ill consequence in families; and lay a foundation of envy, contempt, and discord, which turns to their shame and ruin. His carriage towards his children was with great mildness and gentleness, as one who desired rather to be loved than feared by them. He was as careful not to *provoke them to wrath*, nor to *discourage them*, as he was to *bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord*. He ruled indeed, and kept up his authority, but it was with wisdom and love, and not with a high hand. He allowed his children a great degree of freedom with him, which gave him the opportunity of reasoning them, not frightening them into that which is good. He did much towards the instruction of his children in the way of familiar discourse, according to that excellent directory for religious education, (Deut. vi. 7.) *Thou shalt whet these things* (so the word is which he said noted frequent repetition of the same things) *upon thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, &c.* which made them love home, and delight in his company, and greatly endeared religion to them.

He did not burthen his childrens' memories by imposing upon them the getting of chapters and psalms without book; but endeavoured to make the whole word of God familiar to them, (especially the Scripture stories) and to bring them to understand it and love it, and then they would easily remember it. He used to observe from Psalm cxix. 93, *I will never forget thy precepts, for with them thou hast quickened me*; that we are then likely to remember the word of God when it doth us good.

He taught all his children to write himself, and set them betimes to write sermons, and other things that might be of use to them. He taught
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his eldest daughter the Hebrew Tongue when she was about six or seven years old, by an English Hebrew Grammar, which he made on purpose for her; and she went so far in it, as to be able readily to read and construe a Hebrew psalm.

He drew up a short form of the Baptismal Covenant, for the use of his children; it was this:

“ I take God the Father to be my chiefest good, and highest end.

“ I take God the Son to be my Prince and Saviour.

“ I take God the Holy Ghost to be my Sanctifier, Teacher, Guide, and Comforter.

“ I take the word of God to be my rule in all my actions.

“ And the people of God to be my people in all conditions.

“ I do likewise devote and dedicate unto the Lord, my whole self, all I am, all I have, and all I can do.

“ And this I do deliberately, sincerely, freely, and for ever.”

This he taught his children, and they each of them solemnly repeated it every Lord's Day in the evening, after they were catechized, he putting his *Amen* to it, and sometimes adding, “ so say, and so do, and you are made for ever.”

He also took pains with them, to lead them into the understanding of it, and to persuade them to a free and cheerful consent to it. And when they grew up, he made them all write it over severally with their own hands, and very solemnly set their names to it, which he told them he would keep by him, and it should be produced as a testimony against them, in case they should afterwards depart from God, and turn from following after him.

He was careful to bring his children betimes (when they were about sixteen years of age⁸) to to the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, to take the covenant of God upon themselves, and to make their dedication to God their own act and deed; and a great deal of pains he took with them, to prepare them for that great ordinance, and so to transmit them into the state of adult Church-membership: and he would often blame parents, who would think themselves undone if they had not their children baptized, and yet took no care when they grew up and made a profession of the Christian religion, to persuade them to the Lord's Supper. "It is true" (he would say) "buds and blossoms

⁸ *Sixteen years of age.*] In this very important matter, he remembered and acted upon the excellent model, according to which he himself had been instructed, under Dr. Busby, at Westminster School (See above, p. 126.) The age of *fourteen* years has, since the Reformation, often been fixed upon for the solemn undertaking upon ourselves of our baptismal vows in Confirmation, and so, by consequence, for the immediately subsequent admission to the Lord's Supper. "At *fourteen* years old" (says Bernard, in his Life of Abp. Usher), "he was called to the receiving of the Communion," p. 27. And Will. Whiston informs us of his father, that he was particularly attentive to the fitting the younger persons of his parish, four times in the year, for their first Communion. "My father" (this he did, notwithstanding he was blind) "performed all parochial duties himself; in saying the Prayers, Psalms, and Lessons, and preaching every Lord's Day twice, and administering both Baptism and the Lord's Supper *by heart*, to which last he admitted me at *fourteen* years of age." *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. William Whiston*, Vol. I. p. 9. The custom of fixing upon the precise æra of fourteen years was founded, probably, in one of the Canons of the year 1571. "Quivis Rector, &c. exhibebit Episcopo, &c. nomina et cognomina parochianorum suorum, tam marium, quam *fœminarum* (eorum inquam) qui cum exegerint annum *ætatis sue decimum quartum*, tamen ad sacrosanctam Communionem (ut statutis et legibus ecclesiasticis hujus regni tenentur) non accesserint." Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. IV. p. 265.

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are not fruit, but they give hopes of fruit; and parents may and should take hold of the good beginnings of grace which they see in their children, by those to bind them so much the closer to, and lead them so much the faster in the way that is called holy. By this solemn engagement the door which stood half open before, and invited the thief, is shut and bolted against temptation." And to those who pleaded that they were not fit, he would say, "that the further they went into the world, the less fit they would be. *Qui non est hodie cras minus aptus erit.*" Not that children should be compelled to it, nor those that are wilfully ignorant, untoward, and perverse, admitted to it, but those children that are hopeful and well inclined to the things of God, and appear to be concerned in other duties of religion, when they begin to put away childish things, should be incited, and encouraged, and persuaded to this, that the matter may be brought to an issue. *Nay, but we will serve the Lord; fast bind, fast find.* Abundant thanksgivings have been rendered to God by many of his friends for his advice and assistance herein.

In dealing with his children about their spiritual state, he took hold of them very much by the handle of their *infant baptism*, and frequently inculcated that upon them, that they were born in God's house, and were betimes dedicated and given up to him, and therefore were obliged to be his servants, Psalm cxvi. 16. *I am thy servant, because the son of thy handmaid.* This he was wont to illustrate to them by the comparison of taking a lease of a fair estate for a child in the cradle, and putting his life into it. The child then knows nothing of the matter, nor is he capable of consenting; however, then he is maintained out of it, and hath an interest in it; and when he grows up and becomes

becomes able to chuse, and refuse for himself, if he go to his landlord, and claim the benefit of the lease, and promise to pay the rent, and do the services, well and good, he hath the benefit of it: if otherwise, it is at his peril. "Now children," (would he say) "our great landlord was willing that your lives should be put into the lease of Heaven and happiness, and it was done accordingly, by your baptism, which is *the seal of the righteousness that is by faith*; and by that it was assured to you, that if you would pay the rent and do the service, that is, live a life of faith and repentance, and sincere obedience, you shall never be turned off the tenement. But if now you dislike the terms, and refuse to pay this rent (*this chief rent*, so he would call it, for it is no *rack*) you forfeit the lease; however, you cannot but say, that you had a kindness done you, to have your lives put into it." Thus did he frequently deal with his children, and even travail in birth again to see Christ formed in them, and from this topic he generally argued, and he would often say, "If infant baptism were more improved, it would be less disputed."

He not only taught his children betimes to pray, (which he did especially by his own pattern, his method and expressions in prayer being very easy and plain) but when they were young he put them upon it, to pray together, and appointed them on Saturdays in the afternoon to spend some time together, none but they and such of their age as might occasionally be with them, in reading good books, especially those for children, and in singing and praying; and would sometimes tell them for their encouragement, that the God with whom we have to do, understands broken language. And if we do as well as we can in the sincerity of our hearts, we shall

shall not only be accepted but taught to do better :
To him that hath shall be given.

He sometimes set his children, in their own reading of the Scriptures, to gather out such passages as they took most notice of, and thought most considerable, and write them down : though this performance was very small, yet the endeavour was of good use. He also directed them to insert in a paper book, which each of them had for the purpose, *remarkable sayings and stories*, which they met with in reading such other good books as he put into their hands.

He took a pleasure in relating to them the remarkable providences of God, both in his own time, and in the days of old, which he said, parents were taught to do by that appointment, *Exod. xii. 26, 27. Your children shall ask you in time to come, what mean you by this service ? and you shall tell them so and so.*

What his pious care was concerning his children, and with what a godly jealousy he was jealous over them, take in one instance. When they had been for a week or a fortnight kindly entertained at Bangor (as they were often) he thus writes in his Diary upon their return home : " My care and fear is, lest converse with such so far above them, though of the best, should have influence upon them to lift them up, when I had rather they should be kept low." For as he did not himself, so he was very solicitous to teach his children, not *to mind high things* ; nor to desire them, nor to expect them in this world.

We shall conclude this chapter with another passage out of his Diary, April 12, 1681. " This day fourteen years the Lord took my first-born son from me, the beginning of my strength, with a stroke. In the remembrance whereof my heart melted

melted this evening: I begged pardon for the Jonah that raised the storm; I blessed the Lord that hath spared the rest; I begged mercy, mercy for every one of them, and absolutely and unreservedly devoted and dedicated them, myself, my whole self, estate, interest, life, to the will and service of that God from whom I received all. Father, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, &c."

CHAP. V.

His Ejection from Worthenbury, his Nonconformity, his Removes to Broad Oak, and the Providences that were concerning him to the Year 1672.

HAVING thus laid together the instances of his *family religion*, we must now return to the history of events that were concerning him, and are obliged to look back to the first year after his marriage, which was the year that king Charles the Second came in; a year of great changes and struggles in the land, which Mr. Baxter, in his Life, gives a full and clear and impartial idea of; by which it may easily be guessed, how it went with Mr. Henry in his low and narrow sphere, whose sentiments in those things were very much the same with Mr. Baxter's.

Many of his best friends in Worthenbury parish were lately removed by death; Emeral family contrary to what it had been; and the same spirit which that year revived all the nation over, was working violently in that country, viz. a spirit of
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great enmity to such men as Mr. Henry was. Worthenbury, upon the king's coming in, returned into its former relation to Bangor, and was looked upon as a chapelry dependant upon that. Mr. Robert Fogg had for many years held the sequestered rectory of Bangor, which now Dr. Henry Bridgman (son to John bishop of Chester, and brother to the lord keeper Bridgman) returned to the possession of. By which Mr. Henry was soon apprehensive that his interest at Worthenbury was shaken: but thus he writes, "The will of the Lord be done. Lord, if my work be done here, provide some other for this people that may be more skilful, and more successful, and cut out work for me elsewhere; however, I will take nothing ill which God doth with me."

He laboured what he could to make Dr. Bridgman his friend, who gave him good words and was very civil to him, and assured him that he would never remove him till the law did. But he, must look upon himself as the doctor's curate, and depending upon his will, which kept him in continual expectation of a removal; however, he continued in his liberty there above a year, though in very fickle and precarious circumstances.

The grand question now on foot was, *whether to conform or no*. He used all means possible to satisfy himself concerning it, by reading and discourse (particularly at Oxford with Dr. Fell. afterwards bishop of Oxford) but in vain, his dissatisfaction remained. "However," (saith he) "I dare not judge those that do conform, for who am I that I should judge my brother?" He hath noted, that being at Chester, in discourse with the dean and chancellor and others, about this time, the great argument they used with him to persuade him to conform was, that else he would lose his preferment;

ment; "and what" (said they) "you are a young man, and are you wiser than the king and bishops?" But this is his reflection upon it afterwards, "God grant I may never be left to consult with flesh and blood in such matters."

In September, 1660, Mr. Fogg, and Mr. Steel, and Mr. Henry were presented at Flint Assizes for not reading the Common Prayer, though as yet it was not enjoined; but there were some busy people that would outrun the law. They entered their appearance, and it fell; for soon after the king's *declaration*⁹, touching ecclesiastical affairs, came out, which promised liberty, and gave hopes of settlement; but the Spring Assizes afterwards Mr. Steel and Mr. Henry were presented again. On this he writes, "Be merciful to me, O God, for man would swallow me up. The Lord shew me what he would have me to do, for I am afraid of nothing but sin."

It appears by the hints of his diary, that he had melancholy apprehensions at this time about public affairs, seeing and hearing of so many faithful ministers disturbed, silenced, and ensnared; the ways of Sion mourning, and the quiet in the land treated as the troublers of it: his soul wept in secret for it. And yet he joined in the annual commemoration of the king's restoration, and preached on Mark xii. 17, *Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's*; considering (saith he) that it was his right; also the sad posture of the civil government through usurpers, and the manner of his coming in, without bloodshed. This he would all his days speak of as a national mercy, but what he rejoiced in with a great deal of trembling for the ark of

⁹ *King's Declaration.*] Wilkins's *Concilia*, Vol. IV. p. 560—564.

God; and he would sometimes say, that “during those years between forty and sixty, though on civil accounts there were great disorders, and the foundations were out of course, yet in the matters of God’s worship, things went well; there was freedom and reformation, and a face of godliness was upon the nation, though there were those that made but a mask of it. Ordinances were administered in power, and purity, and though there was much amiss, yet religion, at least in the profession of it, did prevail. This (saith he) we know very well, let men say what they will¹ of those times.”

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¹ *Say what they will.*] We have other testimonies of the like import. “I know” (says Richard Baxter) “in these times you may meet with men that confidently affirm, that all religion was then trodden down, and heresy and schism were the only piety: but I give warning to all ages by the experience of this incredible age, that they take heed how they believe any, whoever they be, while they are speaking for the interest of their factions and opinions, against those that were their real or supposed adversaries.” *Life and Times*, Part I. p. 86. And again, speaking of the same times; “If any shall demand whether the increase of godliness was answerable in *all* places to what I have mentioned (and none deny that it was with *us*), I answer, that however men that measure godliness by their gain and interest and domination, do go about to persuade the world that godliness then went down, and was almost extinguished, I must bear this faithful witness to those times, that as far as I was acquainted, where before there was one godly profitable preacher, there was then six or ten; and taking one place with another, I conjecture there is a proportionable increase of truly godly people, not counting heretics, or perfidious rebels, or church-disturbers, as such. But this increase of godliness was not in all places alike: for in some places, where the ministers were formal, or ignorant, or weak and imprudent, contentious or negligent, the parishes were as bad as heretofore. And in some places, where the ministers had excellent parts, and holy lives, and thirsted after the good of souls, and wholly devoted themselves, their time and strength and

In November, 1660, he took the oath of allegiance at Orton, before sir Thomas Hanmer, and two other justices, of which he hath left a memorandum in his diary, with this added, "God so help me, as I purpose in my heart to do accordingly:" nor could any more conscientiously observe that oath of God than he did, nor more sincerely promote the ends of it.

That year (according to an agreement with some of his brethren in the ministry, who hoped thereby to oblige some people) he preached upon Christmas-day. The Sabbath before, it happened that

and estates thereunto, and thought no pains or cost too much, there abundance were converted to serious godliness. And with those of a middle state usually they had a middle measure of success. And I must add this to the true information of posterity, that God did so wonderfully bless the labours of his *unanimous faithful ministers*, that had it not been for the faction of the prelatists on one side, that drew men off, and the factions of the giddy and turbulent sectaries on the other side, (who pulled down all government, cried down the ministers, and broke all into confusion, and made the people at their wits' end, not knowing what religion to be of); together with some laziness and selfishness in many of the ministry, I say, had it not been for these impediments, England had been like in a quarter of an age to have become a land of saints, and a pattern of holiness to all the world, and the unmatchable paradise of the earth. Never were such fair opportunities to sanctify a nation, lost and trodden under foot, as have been in this land, of late! Woe be to them that were the causes of it!" *Life and Times*, Part I. p. 96. And, if we may believe a very partial, and by no means accurate writer, speaking of a part of the religion of those times, "the Lord's Day was observed with the greatest strictness; all public-houses were shut up; there was no traveller on the road, or walker in the fields, except in cases of absolute necessity. Reading the Scripture, repeating sermons, family prayer, and singing of psalms were so universal in the City of London, that you might walk the streets on the Lord's Day evening without seeing an idle person, or hearing any thing but the voice of prayer and praise from churches and private houses." *Neale's History of the Puritans*, Vol. II. p. 591.

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the 23d chapter of Leviticus (which treats intirely of the Jewish feasts, called there the *feasts of the Lord*) came in course to be expounded, which gave him occasion to distinguish of feasts into *divine* and *ecclesiastical*. The divine feasts that the Jews had were those there appointed; their ecclesiastical feasts were those of Purim and of Dedication: and in the application of it, he said, "he knew no *divine* feast we have under the Gospel but the Lord's day, intended for the commemoration of the whole mercy of our redemption. And the most that could be said for Christmas was, that it is an *ecclesiastical* feast; and it is questionable with some, whether church or state, though they might make a good day, (Esth. ix. 19.) could make a holy day: nevertheless, forasmuch as we find our Lord Jesus (John x. 22.) so far complying with the church-feast of Dedication, as to take occasion from the people's coming together, to preach to them, he purposed to preach upon Christmas-day, knowing it to be his duty, in season and out of season." He preached on 1 John iii. 8, *For this purpose was the Son of God manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil*. And he minded his people, that it is double dishonour to Jesus Christ, to practice the works of the devil, then when we keep a feast in memory of his manifestation.

His annuity from Emeral was now withheld because he did not read the common-prayer (though as yet there was no law for reading of it.) Hereby he was disabled to do what he had been wont, for the help and relief of others; and this he has recorded as that which troubled him most under that disappointment; but he blessed God, that he had a heart to do good, even when his hand was empty.

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When Emeral family was unkind to him, he reckoned it a great mercy, which he gave God thanks for, (who makes every creature to be that to us that it is) that Mr. Broughton and his family (which is of considerable figure in the parish) continued their kindness and respects to him, and their countenance of his ministry, which he makes a grateful mention of more than once in his diary.

Many attempts were made in the year 1661, to disturb and ensnare him; and it was still expected, that he would have been hindered. "Methinks," saith he, "Sabbaths were never so sweet as they are, now we are kept at such uncertainties; now a day in thy courts is better than a thousand; such a day as this," saith he of a sacrament-day that year, "better than ten thousand: O that we might yet see many such days!"

He was advised by Mr. Ratcliff, of Chester, and others of his friends, to enter an action against Mr. P. for his annuity, and did so; "but concerning the success of it," saith he, "I am not over solicitous: for though it be my due, (Luke x. 7.) yet it was not that which I preached for; and God knows I would much rather preach for nothing, than not at all; and besides, I know assuredly, if I should be cast, God would make it up to me some other way." After some proceedings he not only moved, but solicited, Mr. P. to refer it; "having learned," saith he, "that it is no disparagement, but an honour, for the party wronged to be first in seeking reconciliation: the Lord (if it be his will) incline his heart to peace. I have now," saith he, "two great concerns upon the wheel, one in reference to my maintenance for time past; the other, as to my continuance for the future; the Lord be my friend in both; but of the two, rather in the latter. But," saith he, "many
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of greater gifts and grace than I are laid aside already, and when my turn comes, I know not: the will of God be done: he can do his work without us."

The issue of this affair was, that there having been some disputes between Mr. P. and Dr. Bridgman, about the tithe of Worthenbury, wherein Mr. P. had clearly the better claim to make; yet by the mediation of sir Thomas Hanmer they came to this agreement, September 11, 1661, that Dr. Bridgman and his successors, parsons of Bangor, should have and receive all the tithe corn and hay of Worthenbury, without the disturbance of the said Mr. P. or his heirs (except the tithe hay of Emeral demesn) upon condition that Dr. Bridgman should before the first of November following "avoid and discharge the present minister or curate, Philip Henry, from the chapel of Worthenbury; and not hereafter at any time re-admit the said minister, Philip Henry, to officiate the said cure." This is the substance of the articles agreed upon between them, pursuant to which Dr. Bridgman soon after dismissed Mr. Henry; and by a writing under his hand, which was published in the church of Worthenbury, by one of Mr. Puleston's servants, October the 27th following, notice was given to the parish of that dismissal. That day he preached his farewell sermon on Phil. i. 27, *Only let your conversation be as becomes the gospel of Christ.* "In which," as he saith in his diary, "his desire and design was rather to profit than to affect. It matters not what becomes of me (*whether I come unto you, or else be absent*) but *let your conversation be as becomes the Gospel.*" His parting prayer for them was, "the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, set a man over the congregation." Thus he ceased to preach

preach to his people there, but he ceased not to love them, and pray for them; and could not but think there remained some dormant relation betwixt him and them.

As to the arrears of his annuity from Mr. P. when he was displaced; after some time, Mr. P. was willing to give him 100*l.* which was a good deal less than what was due, upon condition that he would surrender his deed of annuity, and his lease of the house, which he, for peace sake, was willing to do; and so he lost all the benefit of judge Puleston's great kindness to him. This was not completed till September 1662, until which time he continued in the house at Worthenbury, but never preached so much as once in the church, though there were vacancies several times.

Mr. Richard Hilton was immediately put into the curacy of Worthenbury, by Dr. Bridgman. Mr. Henry went to hear him while he was at Worthenbury, and joined in all the parts of the public worship, particularly attending upon the sacrament of Baptism; "not daring," saith he, "to turn my back upon God's ordinance, while the essentials of it are retained, though corrupted circumstantially in the administration of it, which God amend." Once being allowed the liberty of his gesture, he joined in the Lord's Supper. He kept up his correspondence with Mr. Hilton, and (as he saith in his diary) endeavoured to possess him with right thoughts of his work, and advised him the best he could in the soul affairs of that people; "which," saith he, "he seemed to take well: I am sure I meant it so, and the Lord make him faithful."

Immediately after he was removed and silenced at Worthenbury, he was solicited to preach at Bangor, and Dr. Bridgman was willing to permit it, occasionally; and intimated to his curate there, that

that he should never hinder it; but Mr. Henry declined it. Though his silence was his great grief, yet such was his tenderness, that he was not willing so far to discourage Mr. Hilton at Worthenbury, nor to draw so many of the people from him, as would certainly have followed him to Bangor: "But," saith he, "I cannot get my heart into such a spiritual frame on Sabbath days now, as formerly; which is both my sin and my affliction, Lord quicken me with quickening grace."

When the king came in first, and shewed so good a temper, as many thought, some of his friends were very earnest with him to revive his acquaintance and interest at court, which it was thought he might easily do. It was reported in the country, that the duke of York had enquired after him; but he heeded not the report, nor would he be persuaded to make any addresses that way: "for," saith he, "my friends do not know so well as I the strength of temptation, and my own inability to deal with it. *Qui bene latuit, bene vixit*: Lord, lead me not into temptation."

He was greatly affected with the temptations and afflictions of many faithful ministers of Christ at this time, by the pressing of conformity; and kept many private days of fasting and prayer in his own house at Worthenbury, seeking to turn away the wrath of God from the land. He greatly pitied some, who by the urgency of friends, and the fear of want, were over-persuaded to put a force upon themselves in their conformity. "The Lord keep me," saith he, "in the critical time!"

He preached sometimes occasionally in divers neighbouring places, till Bartholomew-day, 1662: "the day," saith he, "which our sins have made one of the saddest days to England, since the death of Edward the VIth; but even this for good, though

though we know not how nor which way." He was invited to preach at Bangor on the black Bartholomew-day, and prepared a sermon on John vii. 37, *In the last day, that great day of the feast, &c.* but was prevented from preaching it; and was loth to strive against so strong a stream.

As to his nonconformity, which some of his worst enemies have said was *his only fault*, it may not be amiss here to give some account of it.

1. His *reasons for his nonconformity* were very considerable. It was no rash act, but deliberate and well weighed in the balances of the sanctuary. He could by no means submit to be re-ordained: so well satisfied was he in his call to the ministry, and his solemn ordination to it, by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, which God had graciously owned him in, that he durst not do that which looked like a renunciation of it, as null and sinful, and would be at least a tacit invalidating and condemning of all his administrations. Nor could he truly say, "that he thought himself moved by the Holy Ghost, to take upon him the office of a deacon." He was the more confirmed in this objection, because the then bishop of Chester, Dr. Hall, (in whose diocese he was) besides all that was required by law, exacted from those that came to him to be re-ordained, a subscription to this form: *Ego A. B. prætensas meas ordinationis literas, a quibusdam Presbyteris olim obtentas, jam penitus renuncio, et dimitto pro vanis; humiliter supplicans quatenus Rev. in Christo Pater et Dominus Dominus Georgius permissione divina Cestr. episc. me ad sacrum diaconatus ordinem juxta morem et ritus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ dignaretur admittere.* This of re-ordination was the first and great bar to his conformity, and which he mostly insisted on. He would sometimes say, that for a Presbyter to be

be ordained a deacon, is at best, *suscipere gradum Simeonis*.

Besides this, he was not at all satisfied to give *his unfeigned assent and consent, to all and every thing contained in the Book of Common-Prayer, &c.*; for he thought that thereby he should receive the book itself, and every part thereof, rubricks and all, both as true and good; whereas there was several things which he could not think to be so. The exceptions which the ministers made against the Liturgy, at the Savoy-conference, he thought very considerable; and could by no means submit to, much less approve, of the imposition of the ceremonies. He often said, that when Christ came to free us from the yoke of one ceremonial law, he did not leave it in the power of any man, or company of men, in the world, to lay another upon our necks. Kneeling at the Lord's Supper he was much dissatisfied about: and it was for many years his great grief, and which in his diary he doth often most pathetically lament, that by it he was debarred from partaking of that ordinance, in the solemn assembly: for to submit to that imposition he thought, whatever it was to others (whom he was far from judging) would be sin to him. He never took the Covenant, nor ever expressed any fondness for it; and yet he could not think, and therefore durst not declare, that (however unlawfully imposed) it was in itself an unlawful oath, and that no person that took it, was under the obligation of it: for sometimes *quod fieri non debuit factum valet*. In short, it cannot be wondered at, that he was a nonconformist, when the terms of conformity were so industriously contrived to keep out of the church such men as he; which is manifest by the full account which Mr. Baxter hath left to posterity of that affair; and it is a passage worth

noting here, which Dr. Bates in his funeral sermon on Mr. Baxter, relates; that when the lord-chamberlain, Manchester, told the king (while the act of uniformity was under debate) that he was afraid that the terms were so hard, that many of the ministers would not comply with them; bishop Sheldon being present, replied, "I am afraid they will." And it is well known how many of the most sober, pious, and laborious ministers, in all parts of the nation, conformists as well as nonconformists, did dislike those impositions.

He thought it a mercy (since it must be so) that the case of nonconformity was made so clear as it was, abundantly to satisfy him in his silence and sufferings. I have heard that Mr. Anthony Burges, who hesitated before, when he read the act, blessed God, that the matter was put out of doubt. And yet to make sure work, the printing and publishing of the new book of Common-Prayer was so deferred, that few of the ministers, except those in London, could possibly get a sight of it, much less duly consider of it before the time prefixed; which Mr. Steel took notice of in his farewell-sermon at Hanmer, Aug. 17, 1662, "that he was silenced and turned out for not declaring his unfeigned assent and consent to a book which he never saw, nor could see."

One thing which he comforted himself with in his nonconformity was, that as to matters of doubtful disputation touching church-government, ceremonies, and the like, he was unsworn, either on one side or the other, and so was free from those snares and bands in which so many find themselves both tied up from what they would do, and entangled that they knew not what to do. He was one of those that *feared an oath*, (Eccles. x. 2.) and would often say, "oaths are edged tools, and
not

not to be played with." One passage I find in his papers, which confirmed him in this satisfaction: it is a letter from no less a clergyman than Dr. F. of Whitchurch, to one of his parishioners, who desired him to give way, that his child might be baptized by another without the cross and god-fathers, if he would not do it so himself; both which he refused: it was in the year 1672-3. "For my part," saith the doctor, "I freely profess my thoughts, that the strict urging of indifferent ceremonies, hath done more harm than good; and possibly (had all men been left to their liberty therein) there might have been much more unity, and not much less uniformity. But what power have I to dispense with myself, being now under the obligation of a law and an oath?" And he concludes, "I am much grieved at the unhappy condition of myself, and other ministers, who must either lose their parishioners' love, if they do not comply with them, or else break their solemn obligations to please them."

This he would say was the mischief of impositions, which ever were, and ever will be, bones of contention. When he was at Worthenbury, though in the Lord's Supper he used the gesture of *sitting* himself, yet he administered it without scruple to some who chose rather to *kneel*; and he thought that ministers' hands should not, in such things be tied up; but that he ought in his place (though he suffered for it) to witness against the making of those things the indispensable terms of communion, which Jesus Christ hath not made to be so. *Where the spirit of the Lord, and the spirit of the Gospel is, there is liberty.*

Such as these were the reasons of his nonconformity, which as long as he lived he was more and more confirmed in.

2. His

2. His *moderation in his nonconformity* was very exemplary and eminent, and had a great influence upon many, to keep them from running into an uncharitable and schismatical separation; which upon all occasions he bore his testimony against, and was very industrious to stem the tide of. In church-government, that which he desired and wished for, was archbishop Usher's reduction of episcopacy. He thought it lawful to join in the Common-Prayer in public assemblies, and practised accordingly, and endeavoured to satisfy others concerning it. The spirit he was of, was such as made him much afraid of extremes, and solicitous for nothing more than to maintain and keep Christian love and charity among professors: we shall meet with several instances of this, in the progress of his story, and therefore wave it here. I have been told of an aged minister of his acquaintance, who being asked upon his death-bed, "what his thoughts were of his nonconformity," replied, "he was well satisfied in it, and should not have conformed so far as he did," (viz. to join in the Liturgy) "if it had not been for Mr. Henry." Thus was his *moderation known unto all men*.

But to proceed in his story. At Michaelmas, 1662, he quite left Worthenbury, and came with his family to Broad Oak, just nine years from his first coming into the country. Being cast by divine providence into this new place and state of life, his care and prayer was, that he might have grace and wisdom to manage it to the glory of God, "which," saith he, "is my chief end." Within three weeks after his coming hither, his second son was born, which we mention for the sake of the remark he has upon it: "we have no reason," saith he, "to call him Benoni, I wish we had none to call him Ichabod." And on the day of his family-

mily-thanksgiving for that mercy. he writes, "we have reason to rejoice with trembling, for it goes ill with the church and people of God, and reason to fear worse, because of our own sins, and our enemies' wrath."

At the latter end of this year, he hath in his diary this note. "It is observed of many who have conformed of late, and fallen from what they formerly professed, that since their so doing, from unblameable, orderly, pious men, they are become exceeding dissolute and profane," and instanceth in some. "What need have we every day to pray, *Lord, lead us not into temptation.*"

For several years after he came to live at Broad-Oak, he went constantly on Lord's days to the public worship, with his family, at Whitewell Chapel, (which is hard by) if there were any supply there, as sometimes there was from Malpas; and if none, then to Tylstock, (where Mr. Zachary Thomas continued for about half a year, and the place was a little sanctuary) and when that string failed, usually to Whitchurch; and did not preach for a great while, unless occasionally, when he visited his friends, or to his own family on Lord's days, when the weather hindered them from going abroad. He comforted himself, that sometimes in going to public worship, he had opportunity of instructing and exhorting those that were in company with him, by the way, according as he saw they had need; and in this his lips fed many, and his tongue was as choice silver; and he acted according to that rule which he often laid down to himself and others, "that when we cannot do what we would, we must do what we can, and the Lord will accept us in it." He made the best of the sermons he heard in public: "it is a mercy," saith he, "we have bread; though it be not as it hath been, of the

the finest of the wheat." Those are froward children who throw away the meat they have, if it be wholesome, because they have not what they would have. When he met with preaching that was weak, his note is, "that is a poor sermon indeed, out of which no good lesson may be learned." He had often occasion to remember that verse of Mr. Herbert's:

The worst speaks something good, if all want sense,
God takes the text, and preacheth patience.

Nay, and once he saith, "he could not avoid thinking of Eli's sons, *who made the sacrifices of the Lord to be abhorred.*" Yet he went to bear his testimony to public ordinances: "for still," saith he, "the Lord loves the gates of Zion, more than all the dwellings of Jacob; and so do I." Such then were his sentiments of things, expecting that God would yet open a door of return to former public liberty, which he much desired and prayed for, and in hopes of that, was backward to fall into the stated exercise of his ministry otherwise, (as were all the sober nonconformists generally in those parts) but it was his grief and burthen, that he had not an opportunity of doing more for God. He had scarce one talent of opportunity, but that one he was very diligent and faithful in the improvement of. When he visited his friends, how did he lay out himself to do them good! Being asked once (where he made a visit) to expound and pray, which his friends returned him thanks for; he thus writes upon it, "they cannot thank me so much for my pains, but I thank them more, and my Lord God especially, for the opportunity." Read his conflict with himself at this time: "I own myself a minister of Christ, yet do nothing as a minister; what

what will excuse me ! Is it enough for me to say, behold, I stand in the market-place, and no man hath hired me ?” And he comforts himself with this appeal, “ Lord, thou knowest what will I have to thy work, public or private, if I had a call and opportunity ; and shall this willing mind be accepted ?” Surely this is a melancholy consideration, and lays a great deal of blame somewhere, that such a man as Mr. Henry, so well qualified with gifts and graces for ministerial work, and in the prime of his time for usefulness ; so sound and orthodox, so humble and modest, so quiet and peaceable, so pious and blameless, should be so industriously thrust out of the vineyard, as a useless and unprofitable servant, and laid aside as a despised broken vessel, and a vessel in which there was no pleasure. This is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation ; especially since it was not his case alone, but the lot of so many hundreds of the same character.

In these circumstances of silence and restraint, he took comfort himself, and administered comfort to others from that Scripture, Isa. xvi. 4, *Let my out-casts dwell with thee, Moab.* God’s people may be an out-cast people, cast out of men’s love, their synagogues, their country ; but God will own his people when men cast them out ; they are *out-casts*, but they are *his*, and somewhere or other he will provide a dwelling for them. There were many worthy, able ministers thereabouts turned out, both from work and subsistence, that had not such comfortable support for the life that now is, as Mr. Henry had, for whom he was most affectionately concerned, and to whom he shewed kindness. There were computed, within a few miles round him, so many ministers turned out to the wide world, stripped of all their maintenance, and exposed

posed to continual hardships, as with their wives and children (having most of them numerous families) made up above a hundred, that lived upon providence; and though oft reduced to wants and straits, yet were not forsaken, but were enabled to rejoice in the Lord, and to joy in the God of their salvation notwithstanding: to whom the promise was fulfilled, Psal. xxxvii. 3, *So shalt thou dwell in the land, and verily thou shalt be fed.* The world was told long since, by the *Conformist's Plea*, that the worthy Mr. Laurence (Mr. Henry's intimate friend) when he was turned out of Baschurch, and (if he would have consulted with flesh and blood) having (as was said of one of the martyrs) eleven good arguments against suffering, viz. a wife and ten children; was asked how he meant to maintain them all, and cheerfully replied, they must all live on the 6th of Matthew, *Take no thought for your life, &c.*; and he often sung with his family Psalm xxxvii. 16. And Mr. Henry hath noted concerning him in his diary, some time after he was turned out, "that he bore witness to the love and care of our heavenly Father, providing for him and his in his present condition, beyond expectation."

One observation Mr. Henry made not long before he died, when *he had been young and now was old*, that though many of the ejected ministers were brought very low, had many children, were greatly harassed by persecution, and their friends generally poor and unable to support them; yet in all his acquaintance he never knew nor could remember to have heard of any nonconformist minister in prison for debt.

In October, 1663, Mr. Steel and Mr. Henry, and some other of their friends, were taken up and brought prisoners to Hanmer, under pretence of some plot said to be on foot against the government:

ment: and there they were kept under confinement some days, on which he writes, "it is sweet being in any condition with a clear conscience: the sting of death is sin, and so of imprisonment also. It is the first time," saith he, "I was ever a prisoner, but perhaps may not be the last. We felt no hardship, but we know not what we may." They were after some days examined by the deputy-lieutenants, charged with they knew not what, and so dismissed, finding verbal security to be forth coming upon twenty-four hour's notice, whenever they should be called for. Mr. Henry returned to his tabernacle with thanksgivings to God, and a hearty prayer for his enemies, that God would forgive them. The very next day after they were released, a great man in the country, at whose instigation they were brought into that trouble, died (as was said) of a drunken surfeit. *So that a man shall say, verily there is a God that judgeth in the earth.*

In the beginning of the year 1665, when the act for a royal aid to his majesty of two millions and a half came out, the commissioners for Flintshire were pleased to nominate Mr. Henry sub-collector of the said tax for the township of Iscoyd, and Mr. Steel for the township of Hanmer. They intended thereby to put an affront and disparagement upon their ministry, and to shew that they looked upon them but as laymen. His note upon it is, "it is not a sin which they put us upon, but it is a cross, and a cross in our way, and therefore to be taken up and born with patience. When I had better work to do, I was wanting in my duty about it, and now this is put upon me: the Lord is righteous." He procured the gathering of it by others, only took account of it, and saw it duly done; and deserved (as he said he hoped he should) that inscription

tion mentioned in Suetonius, καλῶς τελωνήσαντι, *to the memory of an honest publican.*

In September the same year, he was again by warrant from the deputy-lieutenants, fetched prisoner to Hanmer, as was also Mr. Steel and others. He was examined about *private meetings*: some such (but private indeed) he owned he had been present at of late in Shropshire, but the occasion was extraordinary; the plague was at that time raging in London, and he, and several of his friends, having near relations there, thought it time to seek the Lord for them, and this was imputed to him as his crime². He was likewise charged with administering the Lord's Supper, which he denied, having never administered it since he was disabled by the act of uniformity. After some days' confinement, seeing they could prove nothing upon him, he was discharged upon recognizance of 20l. with two sureties to be forth coming upon notice, and to live peaceably. "But," saith he, "our restraint was not strict, for we had liberty of prayer and conference together, to our mutual edification: thus, *out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong, sweetness*; and we found *honey in the carcase of the lion.*" It was but a little before this, that Mr. Steel, setting out for London, was, by a warrant from the justices, under colour of the report of a plot, stopped and searched, and finding

² *His crime.*] His crime was the *disobeying* an act of parliament. The writer, when it suits his purpose, has another mode of representing these matters, even within the limits of the present chapter. "Whence, not to curry favour with rulers, for *whatever the sermon was*, the very *preaching* of it, had it been known, *must have been severely punished*, but purely out of conscience towards God, he taught his friends this doctrine, that it is the character of the people of God, that they are a quiet people in the land."

nothing to accuse him of, they seized his almanack, in which he kept his diary for that year; and it not being written very legibly, they made what malicious readings and comments they pleased upon it, to his great wrong and reproach; though to all sober and sensible people, it discovered him to be a man that kept a strict watch over his own heart, and was a great husband of his time, and many said they got good by it, and should love him the better for it, (Psal. xxxvii. 5, 6.) This event made Mr. Henry somewhat more cautious and sparing in the records of his diary, when he saw how evil men dig up mischief.

At Lady-day, 1666, the five-mile act commenced, by which all nonconformist ministers were forbidden, upon pain of six months imprisonment, to come or be within five miles of any corporation, or of any place where they had been ministers, unless they would take an oath, of which Mr. Baxter saith, it was credibly reported, that the earl of Southampton, then lord high treasurer of England, said, "no honest man could take it." Mr. Baxter, in his Life, hath set down at large, his reasons against taking this Oxford oath, as it was called, part ii. p. 396, &c. part iii. p. 4, &c. Mr. Henry set his down in short: it was an oath, not at any time to endeavour any alteration of the government, in the church or state. He had already taken an oath of allegiance to the king, and he looked upon this to amount to an oath of allegiance to the bishops, which he was not free to take. Thus he writes, March 22, 1665-6.

"This day methought it was made more clear to me than ever, by the hand of my God upon me, and I note it down, that I may remember it. (1.) That the government of the church of Christ, ought to be managed by the ministers of Christ. It appears,

pears, Heb. iii. 7, that they are *to rule us, that speak to us the word of God*. (2.) That under prelacy³, ministers have not the management of church-government, not in the least, being only the publishers of the prelates' decrees, as in excommunication and absolution, which decrees sometimes are given forth by lay-chancellors. (3.) That therefore prelacy is an usurpation in the church of God, upon the crown and dignity of Jesus Christ, and upon the gospel-rights of his servants the ministers. And therefore (4) I ought not to subscribe to it, nor to swear not to endeavour, in all lawful ways, the alteration of it, viz. by praying and persuading, where there is opportunity. But (5) that I may safely venture to suffer in the refusal of such an oath, committing my soul, life, estate, liberty, all to him who judgeth righteously."

And on March 25, the day when that act took place, he thus writes: "a sad day among poor ministers up and down this nation; who by this act of restraint, are forced to remove from among their friends, acquaintance, and relations, and to sojourn among strangers, as it were in Mesech and in the tents of Kedar. But there is a God who tells their wanderings, and will put their tears, and the tears of their wives and children, into his bottle: are they not in his book? The Lord be a little sanctuary to them, and a place of refuge from the storm, and from the tempest, and pity those places, from which they are ejected, and come and dwell where *they may not!*"

³ *Under prelacy.*] This reasoning seems hardly worth the noting down and remembering. Do not prelates *speak to us the word of God*, (are not they too ministers of Christ?) and are they not entitled therefore, (if the citation from the apostle be valid) *to rule over us?*

He wished their removes might not be figurative of evil to these nations, as Ezekiel's were, (Ezek. xii. 1, 2, 3.) This severe dispensation forced Mr. Steel and his family from Hanmer, and so he lost the comfort of his neighbourhood; but withal it drew Mr. Lawrence from Buschurch to Whitchurch parish, where he continued till he was driven thence too.

Mr. Henry's house at Broad-Oak was but four reputed miles from the utmost limits of Worthenbury parish, but he got it measured, and accounting 1760 yards to a mile (according to the Statute 35 Eliz. cap. 6.) it was found to be just five miles and threescore yards, which one would think might have been his security: but there were those near him who were ready to stretch such laws to the utmost rigour, under pretence of construing them in favour of the king, and therefore would have it to be understood of reputed miles. This obliged him for some time to leave his family, and to sojourn among his friends, to whom he endeavoured wherever he came to impart some spiritual gift. At last he ventured home, presuming among other things, that the warrant by which he was made collector of the royal aid, while that continued, would secure him, according to a proviso in the last clause of the act, which when the gentlemen perceived, they discharged him from that office, before he had served out the time.

He was much affected with it, that the burning of London happened so soon after the nonconformists were banished out of it. He thought it was in mercy to them, that they were removed before that desolating judgment came, but that it spoke aloud to our governors, *Let my people go that they may serve me, and if ye will not, behold thus and thus will*

will I do unto you. This was the Lord's voice crying in the city.

In the beginning of the year 1667, he removed with his family to Whitchurch, and dwelt there above a year, except that for one quarter of a year, about harvest, he returned again to Broad-Oak. His remove to Whitchurch was partly to quiet his adversaries, who were ready to quarrel with him upon the Five Mile Act, and partly for the benefit of the school there for his children.

There in April following he buried his eldest son, not quite six years old, a child of extraordinary pregnancy and forwardness in learning, and of a very towardly disposition; his character of this child is,

Præterque ætatem nil puerile fuit.

This child before he was seized with the sickness whereof he died, was much affected with some verses, which he met with in Mr. White's *Power of Godliness*, said to be found in the pocket of a hopeful young man, who died before he was twenty-four years old. Of his own accord he got them without book, and would be often rehearsing them; they were these:

“ Not twice twelve years” (he might say
Not half twelve years) “ full told, a wearied
breath

I have exchanged for a happy death.

Short was my life; the longer is my rest;

God takes them soonest whom he loveth best.

He that is born to-day and dies to-morrow,

Loses some hours of joy, but months of sorrow.

Other diseases often come to grieve us,

Death strikes but once and that stroke doth re-
lieve us.”

This

This was a great affliction to the tender parents. Mr. Henry writes upon it in the reflection,

Quicquid amas cupias non placuisse nimis.

Many years after, he said, he thought he did apply to himself at that time, but too sensibly, that Scripture, Lam iii. 1. *I am the man that hath seen affliction.* And he would say to his friends upon such occasions, "Losers think they may have leave to speak; but they must have a care what they say, lest speaking amiss to God's dishonour, they make work for repentance, and shed tears that must be wept over again." He observed concerning this child, that he had always been very patient under rebukes, "The remembrance of which" (saith he) "teacheth me now how to carry it under the rebukes of my heavenly Father." His prayer under this providence was, "shew me, Lord, shew me wherefore thou contendest with me; have I over-boasted, over-loved, over-prized?" A Lord's Day intervening between the death, and burial of the child, "I attended" (saith he) "on public ordinances though sad in spirit, as Job, who after all the evil tidings that were brought him, whereof death of children was the last and heaviest, yet fell down and worshipped." And he would often say upon such occasions, that "weeping must not hinder sowing." Upon the interment of the child, he writes, "My dear child, now mine no longer, was laid in the cold earth, not lost, but sown to be raised again a glorious body; and I shall go to him, but he shall not return to me." A few days after his dear friend Mr. Lawrence (then living in Whitchurch parish) buried a daughter, that was grown up and very hopeful, and gave a good evidence of a work of grace wrought upon
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her soul; "how willing" (saith he) "may parents be to part with such when the Lord calls; they are not *amissi* but *præmissi*." And he hath this further remark, "The Lord hath made his poor servants, that have been often companions in his work, now companions in tribulation, the very same tribulation; me for my sin, him for his trial."

While he lived at Whitchurch, he attended constantly upon the public ministry, and there (as ever) he was careful to come to the beginning of the service, which he attended upon with reverence and devotion; standing all the time, even while the chapters were read. In the evening of the Lord's Day, he spent some time in instructing his family, to which a few of his friends and neighbours in the town would sometimes come in; and it was a little gleam of opportunity, but very short for (as he notes) "*He* was offended at it, who should rather have rejoiced, if by any means the work might be carried on in his people's souls."

He observes in his Diary this year, how zealous people had generally been for the observation of Lent, a while ago, and how cold they are towards it now. The same he notes of processions in Ascension-Week; "for" (saith he) "what hath no good foundation, will not hold up long; but in that which is duty, and of God, it is good to be zealously affected always."

In this year (I think) was the first time that he administered the Lord's Supper (very privately to be sure) after he was silenced by the Act of Uniformity; and he did not do it without mature deliberation. A fear of separation kept him from it so long; what induced him to it at last, I find thus under his own hand. "I am a minister of Christ, and as such I am obliged, *virtute officii*, by all means to endeavour the good of souls. Now here
is

is a company of serious Christians, whose lot is cast to live in a parish; where there is one set over them, who preacheth the truth; and they come to hear him, and join with him in other parts of worship; only as to the Lord's Supper, they scruple the lawfulness of the gesture of kneeling; and he tells them his hands are tied, and he cannot administer it unto them any other way; wherefore they come to me, and tell me, they earnestly long for that ordinance; and there is a competent number of them, and opportunity to partake; and how dare I deny this request of theirs, without betraying my ministerial trust, and incurring the guilt of a grievous omission?"

In February, 1667-8, Mr. Laurence and he were invited by some of their friends to Betley, in Staffordshire, and (there being some little public connivance at that time) with the consent of all concerned, they adventured to preach in the church, one in the morning, and the other in the afternoon of the Lord's day, very peaceably and profitably. This action of theirs was presently after reported in the house of commons, by a member of parliament, with these additions, "that they tore the Common-Prayer Book, trampled the surplice under their feet, pulled the minister of the place out of the pulpit, &c." reports which there was not the least colour for. But that, with some other such like false stories, produced an address of the house of commons to the king, to issue out a proclamation, for the putting of the laws in execution, against papists and nonconformists, which was issued out accordingly; though the king at the opening of that session, a little before, had declared his desire, that "some course might be taken, to compose the minds of his protestant subjects, in matters of religion;" which had raised the expectations of some,

that there would be speedy enlargement; but Mr. Henry had noted upon it, "we cannot expect too little from man, nor too much from God."

And here it may be very pertinent to observe, how industrious Mr. Henry was at this time, when he and his friends suffered such hard things from the government, to preserve and promote a good affection to the government notwithstanding. It was commonly charged at that time upon the non-conformists in general, especially from the pulpits, that they were all a factious and turbulent people, and as was said of old, (Ezra iv. 15) *hurtful to kings and provinces*; that their meetings were for the sowing of sedition and discontents, and the like; and there is some reason to think, that one thing intended by the hardships put upon them, was to drive them to this: there is a way of *making a wise man mad*: but how peaceably they carried themselves, is manifest to God, and in the consciences of many. For an instance of it, it will not be amiss to give some account of a sermon, which Mr. Henry preached in some very private meetings, such as were called *sedition conventicles*, in the year 1669, when it was a day of treading down, and of perplexity. It was on that text, Psalm xxxv. 20, *Against them that are quiet in the land*: whence (not to curry favour with rulers, for whatever the sermon was, the preaching of it, had it been known, must have been severely punished, but purely out of conscience towards God) he taught his friends this doctrine, *that it is the character of the people of God, that they are a quiet people in the land*. "This quietness he described to be an orderly, peaceable subjection to governors and government in the Lord. We must maintain a reverent esteem of them, and of their authority, in opposition to *despising dominion*,
(2 Pet.

(2 Pet. ii. 10) we must be meek under severe commands and burthensome impositions, not murmuring and complaining, as the Israelites against Moses and Aaron; but take them up as our cross in our way, and bear them as we do foul weather. We must not *speake evil of dignities*, (Jude 8.) nor *revile the gods*, (Exod. xxii. 28.) Paul checked himself for this, Acts xxiii. 5, *ἐκ ἡδεν, I did not consider it*; if I had, I would not have said so. We must not traduce their government as Absalom did David's, (2 Sam. xv. 3.) Great care is to be taken how we speak of the faults of any, especially of rulers, (Eccles. x. 20.) The people of God do make the word of God their rule, and by that they are taught, (1.) that magistracy is God's ordinance, and magistrates, God's ministers; that *by him kings reign, and the powers that be, are ordained of him*. (2.) That they, as well as others, are to have *their dues*, honour, and fear, and tribute. (3.) That their lawful commands are to be obeyed, and that readily and cheerfully, (Tit. iii. 1.) (4.) That the penalties inflicted for not obeying unlawful commands, are patiently to be undergone. This is the rule, and as many as walk according to this rule, *peace shall be upon them*, and there can be no danger of their unpeaceableness. They are taught to pray for kings, and all in authority, (1 Tim. ii. 1, 2) and God forbid we should do otherwise: yea, though they persecute, (Jer xxix. 7.) Peaceable prayers bespeak a peaceable people, (Psa. cix. 4.) If some professing religion have been unquiet, their unquietness hath given the lie to their profession, (Jude 8, 11, 12.) Quietness is our badge, (Col. iii. 12.) it will be our strength, (Isaiah xxx. 7, 15.) our rejoicing in the day of evil, (Jer. xviii. 18.) it is pleasing to God, (1 Tim. ii. 2, 3.) it may work upon others, (1 Pet. ii. 12, 13.) The means he prescribed

prescribed for the keeping of us quiet, were to get our hearts filled with the knowledge and belief of these two things, 1. That the kingdom of Christ *is not of this world*, (John xviii. 36.) many have thought otherwise, and it hath made them unquiet. 2. That *the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God*, (James i. 20.) he needs not our sin to bring to pass his own counsel. We must mortify unquietness in the causes of it, (Jam. iv. 1.) we must always remember the oath of God, (Eccl. viii. 2.) the oath of allegiance is an oath of quietness: and we must beware of the company and converse of those that are unquiet, (Prov. xxii. 24, 25.) Though deceitful matters be devised, yet we must be quiet still; nay, be so much the more quiet."

I have been thus large in gathering these hints out of that sermon, (which he took all occasions in other sermons to inculcate, as all his brethren likewise did) that if possible it may be a conviction to the present generation; or however, may be a witness in time to come, that the nonconformist ministers were not enemies to Cæsar, nor troublers of the land; nor their meetings any way tending to the disturbance of the public peace, but purely designed to help to repair the decays of christian piety.

All that knew Mr. Henry, knew very well that his practice all his days, was consonant to these his settled principles.

In May, 1668, he returned again with his family from Whitchurch to Broad-Oak, which, through the good hand of his God upon him, continued his settled home, without any remove from it, till he was removed to his long home above twenty-eight years after. The edge of the five-mile act began now a little to rebate, at least in that country; and

and he was desirous to be more useful to the neighbours, among whom God had given him an estate, than he could be at a distance from them, by relieving the poor, employing the labourers, and especially instructing the ignorant, and helping as many as he could to heaven. He made that Scripture his standing rule, and wrote it in the beginning of his book of accounts, Prov. iii. 9, 10, *Honour the Lord with thy substance, &c.* And having set apart a day of secret prayer and humiliation, to beg of God a wise and an understanding heart, and *to drop a tear* (as he expresseth it) *over the sins of his predecessors, formerly in that estate;* he laid out himself very much in doing good. He was very serviceable upon all accounts in the neighbourhood, and though it took up a great deal of his time, and hindered him from his beloved studies, yet it might be said of him, as the bishop of Salisbury saith of archbishop Tillotson, in his sermon at his funeral, that “ he chose rather to live to the good of others, than to himself; and thought, that to do an act of charity, or even of tenderness and kindness, was of more value both in itself, and in the sight of God, than to pursue the pompous parts of learning, how much soever his own genius might lead him to it.”

He was very useful in the common concernments of the township and country, in which he was a very prudent counsellor: it was indeed a narrow sphere of activity, but (such as it was) to him as to Job, (chap. xxix. 21, 22) *Men gave ear and waited, and kept silence at his counsel; after his words they spake not again;* and many of the neighbours who respected him not as a minister, yet loved and honoured him as a knowing, prudent, and humble neighbour. In the concernments of private families, he was very far from *busying himself*, and
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further

further from seeking himself, but he was very much *busied*, advising many about their affairs, and the disposal of themselves and their children, arbitrating and composing differences among relations and neighbours, in which he had an excellent faculty, and often good success, inheriting the blessing entailed upon the peace-makers. References have sometimes been made to him by rule of court, at the assizes, with consent of parties. He was very affable and easy of access, and admirably patient in hearing every one's complaint, which he would answer with so much prudence and mildness, and give such apt advice, that many a time to consult with him, was to *ask counsel at Abel*, and so to end the matter. He observed in almost all quarrels that happened, that *there was a fault on both sides*; and that generally they were most in the fault, that were most forward and clamorous in their complaints. One making her moan to him of a bad husband she had, that in this and the other instance was unkind; and, "sir," saith she, after a long complaint which he patiently heard, "what would you have me to do now?" "Why truly," saith he, "I would have you to go home, and be a better wife to him, and then you will find that he will be a better husband to you." Labouring to persuade one to forgive an injury that was done him; he urged this, *are you not a Christian?* and followed that argument so close, that at last he prevailed.

He was very industrious, and often successful in persuading people to *recede from their right, for peace sake*; and he would for that purpose tell them Luther's story of the two goats that met upon a narrow bridge over a deep water: they could not go back, they durst not fight; after a short parley, one of them lay down, and let the other go over him,

him, and no harm done. He would likewise relate sometimes a remarkable story, worthy to be here inserted, concerning a good friend of his, Mr. T. Y. of Whitchurch, who in his youth was greatly wronged by an unjust uncle of his, being an orphan. His portion, which was 200l. was put into the hands of that uncle; who when he grew up, shuffled with him, and would give him but 40l. instead of his 200l. and he had no way of recovering his right but by law; but before he would engage in that, he was willing to advise with his minister, who was the famous Dr. Twiss, of Newbury; the counsel he gave him (all things considered) was, for peace sake, and for the preventing of sin, and snares, and trouble, to take the 40l. rather than contend; and, "Thomas," saith the doctor, "if thou dost so, assure thyself, that God will make it up to thee and thine some other way, and they that defraud thee will be the losers by it at last." He did so, and it pleased God so to bless that little which he began the world with, that when he died in a good old age, he left his son possessed of some hundreds a year, and he that wronged him fell into decay.

Many very pious worthy families in the country would say of Mr. Henry, that they had no friend like minded, who did naturally care for their state, and so affectionately sympathize with them, and in whom their hearts could safely trust. He was very charitable to the poor, and was full of almsdeeds, *which he did* (as is said of Tabitha, Acts ix. 36) not which *he said he would do*, or which he put others on to do, but which he did himself, dispersing abroad and giving to the poor, seeking and rejoicing in opportunities of that kind; and whenever he gave an alms for the body, he usually gave with it a spiritual alms, some good word of counsel, reproof,

proof, instruction, or comfort, as there was occasion, and in accommodating these to the persons he spoke to, he had a very great dexterity.

He was very forward to *lend* money freely, to any of his poor neighbours that had occasion, and would sometimes say, that in many cases there was more charity in lending than in giving, because it obliged the borrower both to honesty and industry. When one of his neighbours, to whom he had lent three pounds, failed; so that he was never likely to see a farthing of it, he writes thus upon it; “notwithstanding this, yet still I judge it my duty to lend, *μηθὲν ἀπελπίζων*, *nothing despairing*, so Dr. Hammond reads it, Luke vi. 35.” Though what is lent in charity be not repaid, yet it is not lost. When those that had borrowed money of him paid him again, he usually gave them back some part, to encourage honesty. He judged the taking of moderate interest for money lawful, where the borrower was in a way of gaining by it: but he would advise his friends that had money, rather to dispose of it other ways, if they could.

It must not be forgotten, how punctual and exact he was in all his accounts with tenants, workmen, &c. being always careful to keep such things *in black and white*, (as he used to say) which is the surest way to prevent mistakes, and a man's wronging either himself or his neighbour. Such was his prudence, and such his patience and peaceableness, that of all the time he was at Broad-Oak, he never sued any, nor ever was sued, but was instrumental to prevent many a vexatious law-suit among his neighbours. He used to say, “there are four rules to be duly observed in going to law; (1.) We must not go to law for trifles, as he did who said, he would rather spend a hundred pounds in law, than lose a pennyworth of his right, (Matt. v. 39, 40, 41.)

41.) (2.) We must not be rash and hasty in it, but try all other means possible to compose differences wherein he that yields most, as Abraham did to Lot, is the better man, and there is nothing lost by it in the end, (1 Cor. vi 1, 2.) (3.) We must see that it be without malice or desire of revenge. If the undoing of our brother, be the end of our going to law, as it is with many, it is certainly evil, and it speeds accordingly. (4.) It must be with a disposition to peace, whenever it may be had, and an ear open to all overtures of that kind. The two mottos proper for the great guns are applicable to this, *Ratio ultima regum*, and *Sic quærimus pacem*.

Four rules he sometimes gave to be observed in our converse with men: *Have communion with few; be familiar with one; deal justly with all; speak evil of none.*

He was noted for an extraordinary neat husband about his house and ground, which he would often say, he could not endure to see like the *field of the slothful*, and the *vineyard of the man void of understanding*. And it was strange, how easily one that had been bred up utterly a stranger to such things, yet when God so ordered his lot, acquainted himself with, and accommodated himself to the affairs of the country, making it the diversion of his vacant hours, to oversee his gardens and fields; when he better understood that known Epode of Horace, *Beatus ille qui procul negotiis*, than he did when in his youth he made an ingenious translation of it. His care of this kind was an act of charity to poor labourers whom he employed; and it was a good example to his neighbours, as well as for the comfort of his family. His converse likewise with these things was excellently improved, for spiritual purposes, by occasional meditations,
hints

hints of which there are often in his Diary, as those that conversed with him had many in discourse. Instances of this were easy, but endless to give. He used to say, that therefore many of the Scripture parables and similitudes are taken from the common actions of this life, that when our hands are employed about them, our hearts may the more easily pass through them to divine and heavenly things. I have heard him often blame those, whose irregular zeal in the profession of religion, makes them to neglect their worldly business, and let the house *drop through*; the affairs of which the good man will *order with discretion*; and he would tell sometimes of a religious woman, whose fault it was, how she was convinced of it, by means of an intelligent godly neighbour; who coming into the house, and finding the good woman, far in the day, in her closet, and the house sadly neglected, children not tended, servants not minded; "What," saith he, "is there no fear of God in this house?" which much startled and affected the good woman, that overheard him. He would often say, "Every thing is beautiful in its season; and that it is the wisdom of the prudent, so to order the duties of their general callings as Christians, and those of their particular callings in the world, as that they may not clash or interfere." I have heard it observed from Eccl. vii. 16, *That there may be over-doing in well-doing.*

I cannot omit one little passage in his Diary, because it may be instructive: when he was once desired to be bound for one that had upon a particular occasion, been bound for him, he writes, Solomon saith, *He that hateth suretiship is sure*; but he saith also, *he that hath friends must shew himself friendly.* But he always cautioned those that became sureties, not to be bound for any more than

than they knew themselves able to pay, nor for more than they would be willing to pay, if the principal fail.

His house at Broad-Oak was by the road-side, which though it had its inconveniencies, yet (he would say) pleased him well, because it gave his friends an opportunity of calling on him the oftener, and gave him an opportunity of being kind to strangers, and such as were any way distressed upon the road, to whom he was upon all occasions, cheerfully ready, fully answering the Apostle's character of a bishop, that he must be of *good behaviour*, (νόμιμος, decent, affable, and obliging) and *given to hospitality*, (1 Tim. iii. 2.) like Abraham, sitting at his tent-door, in quest of opportunities to do good. If he met with any poor near his house, and gave them alms in money, yet he would bid them go to his door besides for relief there. He was very tender and compassionate towards poor strangers and travellers, though his charity and candor were often imposed upon by cheats and pretenders, whom he was not apt to be suspicious of; but would say in the most favourable sense, *Thou knowest not the heart of a stranger*. If any asked his charity, whose representation of their case he did not like, or who he thought did amiss to take that course, he would first give them an alms, and then mildly reprove them; and labour to convince them that they were out of the way of duty, and that they could not expect that God should bless them in it; and would not chide them, but reason with them. And he would say, if he should tell them of their faults, and not give them an alms, the reproof would look only like an excuse to deny his charity, and would be rejected accordingly.

In

In a word, his greatest care about the things of this world was, how to do good with what he had, and to *devise liberal things*; desiring to make no other accession to his estate, but only that blessing which attends beneficence. He did firmly believe (and it should seem few do) that *what is given to the poor, is lent to the Lord*, who will pay it again in kind or kindness; and that religion and piety is undoubtedly the best friend to outward prosperity; and he found it so; for it pleased God abundantly to bless his habitation, and *to make a hedge about him, and about his house, and about all that he had round about*. And though he did not delight himself in the abundance of wealth; yet, which is far better, he delighted himself in the *abundance of peace*, (Psalm xxxvii. 11.) All that he had and did observably prospered, so that the country oftentimes took notice of it, and called his family, “a family which the Lord had blessed.” And his comforts of this kind were (as he used to pray they might be) oil to the wheels of his obedience, and in the use of these things he served the Lord his God with joyfulness and gladness of heart, yet still mindful of and grieved for the affliction of Joseph. He would say sometimes, when he was in the midst of the comforts of this life, as that good man; “All this, and Heaven too! surely then we serve a good master.” Thus did the Lord bless him, and make him a blessing; and this abundant grace through the thanksgiving of many, redounded to the glory of God.

Having given this general account of his circumstances at Broad-Oak, we shall now go on with his story, especially as to the exercise of his ministry there, and thereabouts, for that was his *τὸ ἔργον*, the thing in which he was, and to which he wholly gave himself, taking other things *ὡς πάρεργα*.

After

After this settlement at Broad-Oak, whenever there was preaching at Whitewell Chapel (as usually there was two Lord's Days in the month) he constantly attended there with his family, was usually with the first, and reverently joined in the public service; he diligently wrote the sermons; always staid if the ordinance of baptism was administered, but not if there were a wedding, for he thought that a solemnity not proper for the Lord's Day. He often dined the minister that preached; after dinner he sung a psalm, repeated the morning sermon, and prayed; and then attended in like manner in the afternoon. In the evening he preached to his own family; and perhaps two or three of his neighbours would drop in to him. On those Lord's Days when there was no preaching at the chapel, he spent the whole day at home, and many an excellent sermon he preached, when there were present only four besides his own family (and perhaps not so many) according to the limitation of the *Conventicle Act*. In these narrow private circumstances he preached over the former part of the Assembly's Catechism, from divers texts; he also preached over Psalm 116, besides many particular occasional subjects.

What a grief of heart it was to him, to be thus put under a bushel, and confined to such a narrow sphere of usefulness, read in his own words, which I shall transcribe out of an elegy he made (to give vent to his thoughts) upon the death of his worthy friend Mr. George Mainwaring, sometime minister of Malpas, (who was silenced by the Act of Uniformity, and died March 14, 1669-70) wherein he thus bewails (feelingly enough) the like restraints and confinements of his friend.

His

His later years he sadly spent,
Wrapt up in silence and restraint.
A burthen such as none do know,
But they that do it undergo.
To have a fire shut up and pent
Within the bowels, and no vent;
To have gorged breasts, and by a law,
Those that fain would, forbidden to draw.
But his dumb sabbaths here, did prove
Loud crying sabbaths in heaven above.
His tears, when he might sow no more,
Watering what he had sown before.

Soon after his settlement at Broad-Oak, he took a young scholar into the house with him; partly to teach his son, and partly to be a companion to himself to converse with him, and to receive help and instruction from him; and for many years, he was seldom without one or other such; who before their going to the University, or in the intervals of their attendance there, would be in his family, sitting under his shadow. One of the first he had with him, in the year 1668, (and after) was Mr. William Turner, born in the neighbourhood; afterwards of Edmund Hall, in Oxford, now vicar of Walberton, in Sussex, to whom the world is beholden for that elaborate *History of all Religions*, which he published in the year 1695, and from whom is earnestly expected the performance of that noble and useful project for the *Record of Providences*. Betwixt Mr. Henry and him there was a most entire and affectionate friendship; and notwithstanding that distance of place, a constant and endearing correspondence, kept up as long as Mr. Henry lived.

It was observed that several young men who had sojourned with him, and were very hopeful and likely

likely to be serviceable to their generations, died soon after their removal from him; (I could instance in six or seven) as if God had sent them to him to be prepared for another world, before they were called for out of this; yet never any died while they were with him.

He had so great a kindness for the University, and valued so much the mighty advantages of improvement there, that he advised all his friends who designed their children for scholars, to send them thither, for many years after the change, though he always counted upon their conformity. But long experience altered his mind herein; and he chose rather to keep his own son at home with him, and to give him what help he could there, in his education, than venture him into the snares and temptations of the University.

It was also soon after this settlement of his at Broad-Oak, that he contracted an intimate friendship with that learned, and pious, and judicious gentleman, Mr. Hunt, of Boreatton, (the son of colonel Hunt, of Salop) and with his excellent lady Frances, daughter of the right honourable the lord Paget. The acquaintance then begun betwixt Mr. Henry and that worthy family continued to his dying day, about thirty years. One Lord's Day in a quarter he commonly spent with them, besides other interviews: and it was a constant rejoicing to him to see religion and the power of godliness uppermost in such a family as that, when *not many mighty, not many noble are called*; and the branches of it *branches of righteousness, the planting of the Lord*. Divers of the honourable relations of that family contracted a very great respect for him, particularly the present lord Paget, now his majesty's ambassador at the Ottoman court, and sir Henry

Ashurst, whom we shall have occasion afterwards to make mention of.

In the time of trouble and distress, by the Conventicle Act, in 1670, he kept private and stirred little abroad, as loth to offend those that were in power, and judging it prudence to gather in his sails, when the storm was violent. He then observed, as that which he was troubled at, "That there was a great deal of precious time lost among professors, when they came together, in discoursing of their adventures to meet, and their escapes, which he feared tended more to set up self, than to give glory to God. Also in telling how they got together, and such a one preached, but little enquiring what spiritual benefit and advantage was reaped by it; and that we are apt to make the circumstances of our religious services more the matter of our discourse, than the substance of them."

We shall close this chapter with two remarks out of his Diary, in the year 1671, which will shew what manner of spirit he was of, and what were his sentiments of things at that time. One is this, "All acknowledge that there is at this day a number of sober, peaceable men, both ministers and others, among dissenters, but who either saith or doth any thing to oblige them; who desireth or endeavoureth to open the door to let in such? Nay, do they not rather provoke them to run into the same extravagancies with others by making no difference, but laying load on them as if they were as bad as the worst?" It is true that about this time the lord keeper Bridgman and bishop Wilkins, and the lord chief justice Hale⁴, were making

⁴ *Chief Justice Hale.*] See above, p. 42.

some overtures towards an accommodation with them; but it is as true, that those overtures did but the more exasperate their adversaries, (who were ready to account such moderate men the worst enemies the Church of England had) and the event was, greater acts of severity.

Another is this, "If all that hath been said and written to prove that prelacy is *Antichristian*, and that it is *unlawful* to join in the Common-Prayer, had been urged effectually to persuade bishops to study and do the duty of church-rulers, in preaching and feeding the flock, according to the word, and to persuade people to be serious, inward, and spiritual in the use of forms, it had been much better with the Church of God in England, than it now is." Consonant to the spirit of this remark, was that which he took all occasions to mention as his settled principle. "In those things wherein all the people of God are agreed, I will spend my zeal; and wherein they differ I will endeavour to walk according to the light that God hath given me, and charitably believe that others do so too."

CHAP. VI.

*His Liberty by the Indulgence in the Year 1672,
and thenceforwards to the Year 1681.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the severe Act against Conventicles, in the year 1670, yet the Nonconformists in London ventured to set up meetings in 1671, and were connived at; but in the country there was little liberty taken till the king's declara-

tion of March 15, 1671-2, gave countenance and encouragement to it. What were the secret springs which produced that declaration time discovered; however, it was to the poor dissenters as life from the dead, and gave them some reviving in their bondage, God graciously ordering it so, that the spirit he had made might not fail before him. But so precarious a liberty was it, that it should never be said, those people were hard to be pleased, who were so well pleased with that, and thanked God, who put such a thing into the king's heart. The tenor of that declaration was this: "In consideration of the inefficacy of rigour, tried for divers years, and to invite strangers into the kingdom, ratifying the establishment in the Church of England, it suspends penal laws against all nonconformists and recusants, promiseth to license separate places for meetings, limiting Papists only to private houses."

On this Mr. Henry writes, "It is a thing diversly resented, as mens interests lead them; the Conformists *displeased*, the Presbyterians *glad*, the Independents *very glad*, the Papists *triumph*. The danger is" (saith he) "lest the allowing of separate places help to overthrow our parish-order, which God hath owned, and to beget divisions and animosities among us, which no honest heart but would rather should be healed. We are put hereby" (saith he) "into a trilemma, either to turn Independents in practice, or to strike in with the Conformists, or to sit down in former silence and sufferings" (and silence he accounted one of the greatest sufferings) "till the Lord shall open a more effectual door." That which (he saith) he then heartily wished for, was, "That those who were in place, would admit the sober Nonconformists to preach sometimes occasionally in their pulpits ;

pits ; by which means he thought prejudices would in time wear off on both sides, and they might mutually strengthen each others' hands against the common enemy the Papists ; who he foresaw would fish best in troubled waters." This he would choose much rather than to keep a separate meeting : but it could not be had ; no, not so much as leave to preach in Whitewell Chapel when it was vacant, as it often was, though it were three long miles from the parish-church. He found that some people, the more they are courted, the more coy they are ; however, the overtures he made to this purpose, and the slow steps he took towards the setting up of a distinct congregation, yielded him satisfaction afterwards in the reflection, when he could say, we would have been united, and they would not.

It was several weeks after the declaration came out, that he received a license to preach, as Paul did, in his own house, and elsewhere, *no man forbidding him*. This was procured for him by some of his friends in London, without his privity, and came to him altogether unexpected. The use he made of it was, that at his own house, what he did before to his own family, and in private, the doors being shut for fear, he now did more publicly ; threw his doors open, and welcomed his neighbours to him, *to partake of his spiritual things* ; only one sermon in the evening of the Lord's Day, when there was preaching at Whitewell Chapel, where he still continued his attendance with his family and friends as usual ; but when there was not, he spent the whole day, at public time, in the services of the day, exposition of the Scriptures read, and preaching, with prayer and praise. This he did *gratis*, receiving nothing for his labours, either at home or abroad, but the satisfaction

tisfaction of doing good to souls (which was his meat and drink) with the trouble and charge of giving entertainment to many of his friends, which he did with much cheerfulness; and he would say, he sometimes thought that the bread did even multiply in the breaking; and he found that God did abundantly bless his provision, with that blessing, which, as he used to say, will make a little to go a great way. He was wont to observe, for the encouragement of such as had meetings in their houses, (which sometimes drew upon them inconveniencies) “That the ark is a guest, that always pays well for its entertainment.” And he noted, that when Christ had borrowed Peter’s boat to preach a sermon out of it, he presently repaid him for the loan, with a *great draught of fishes*, (Luke v. 3, 4.)

Many thoughts of heart he had, concerning this use he made of the liberty, not knowing what would be in the end hereof; but after serious consideration, and many prayers, he saw his way very plain before him, and addressed himself with all diligence to the improvement of this gale of opportunity. Some had dismal apprehensions of the issue of it; and that there would be an after-reckoning: “But” (saith he) “let us mind our duty, and let God alone to order events, which are his work, not ours.”

It was a word upon the wheels, which he preached at that time for his own encouragement, and the encouragement of his friends, from that Scripture, Eccl. xi. 4. *He that observes the wind shall not sow, and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap.* Those that are minded either to do good, or get good, must not be frightened with seeming difficulties and discouragements. Our work is to sow and reap, to do good and get good; and let us

us mind that, and let who will mind the winds and clouds. *A lion in the way, a lion in the streets*; a very unlikely place (he would say) for lions to be in; and yet that serves the sluggard for an excuse.

While this liberty lasted, he was in labours more abundant; many lectures he preached abroad in Shropshire, Cheshire, and Denbighshire, laying out himself exceedingly for the good of souls, spending and being spent in the work of the Lord. And of that neighbourhood and of that time it was said, that this and that man was born again, then and there; and many there were who asked the way to Sion with their face thitherwards, and were (not proselyted to a party, but) savingly brought home to Jesus Christ. I mean this; such as had been vain and worldly, and careless, and mindless of God and another world, became sober and serious and concerned about their souls, and a future state. This was the conversion of souls aimed at, and laboured after, and through grace not altogether in vain. Whatever lectures were set up in the country round, it was still desired that Mr. Henry would begin them (which was thought no small encouragement to those who were to carry them on) and very happy he was, both in the choice and management of his subjects at such opportunities, seeking to find out acceptable words. Take one specimen of his address, when he began a lecture with a sermon on Heb. xii. 15. "I assure you (saith he), and God is my witness, I am not come to preach, either sedition against the peace of the state, or schism against the peace of the church, by persuading you to this or that opinion or party; but as a minister of Christ, that hath received mercy from the Lord, to desire to be faithful, my errand is to exhort you to all possible seriousness,

ousness, in the great business of your eternal salvation, according to my text, which if the Lord will make as profitable to you, as it is material and of weight in itself, neither you nor I shall have cause to repent our coming hither, and our being here to day; *looking diligently, lest any of you fail of the grace of God.* If it were the last sermon I were to preach, I did not know how to take my aim better to do you good."

In doing of this work, he often said, that he looked upon himself but as an assistant to the parish ministers, in promoting the common interests of Christ's kingdom, and the common salvation of precious souls, by the explication and application of those great truths, wherein we are all agreed. And he would compare the case to that in Hezekiah's time, when the Levites helped the priests to kill the sacrifice, which was something of an irregularity, but the exigence of affairs called for it; the priests being too few, and some of them not so careful as they should have been, to *sanctify themselves*, (see 2 Chron. xxix. 34.) and wherever he preached, he usually prayed for the parish minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry. He hath often said how well pleased he was, when after he had preached a lecture at Oswestry, he went to visit the minister of the place, Mr. Edwards, a worthy good man; and told him, he had been sowing a handful of seed among his people, and had this answer, "that is well, the Lord prosper your seed and mine too, there is need enough of us both." And another worthy conformist that came privately to hear him, but was reprimanded for it by his superiors, told him afterwards with tears, that his heart was with him.

His heart was wonderfully enlarged in his work at this time: the fields were white unto the harvest,

vest, and he was busy, and God did remarkably own him, setting many seals to his ministry, which much confirmed him in what he did. He hath this observable passage in his diary, about this time, which he recorded for his after benefit (and the example of it may be instructive) “remember that if trouble should come hereafter, for what we do now in the use of present liberty, I neither shrink from it, nor sink under it; for I do therein approve myself to God, and to my own conscience, in truth and uprightness; and the Lord whom I serve, can and will certainly both bear me out, and bring me off with comfort in the end. I say, remember, and forget it not, this 24th day of March, 1672-3.”

It was at the beginning of this liberty, that the society at Broad-Oak did commence; made up (besides their neighbourhood) of some out of Whitchurch, and Whitchurch parish, that had been Mr. Porter's people, some out of Hanmer parish, that had been Mr. Steel's, and some out of the parishes of Wem, Prees, and Ellismere, persons generally of very moderate and sober principles, quiet and peaceable lives, and hearty well-wishers to the king and government; and not rigid or schismatical in their separation, but willing to attend (though sometimes with difficulty and hazard) upon those administrations which they found most lively and edifying, and most helpful to them, in the great business of working out their salvation. To this society he would never call himself a pastor, nor was he willing that they should call him so; but a helper, and a minister of Christ for their good. He would say, “that he looked upon his family only as his charge, and his preaching to others was but accidental, whom if they came, he could no more turn away, than he could a poor hungry man, that

that should come to his door for an aims. And being a minister of Jesus Christ, he thought himself bound to preach the Gospel, as he had opportunity."

Usually once a month he administered the ordinance of the Lord's Supper. Some of his opportunities of that kind he sets a particular remark upon, as sweet sealing days, on which he found it good to draw near to God.

When about the year's end there was a general expectation of the cancelling of the indulgence, he hath this note upon a precious Sabbath and Sacrament day, as he calls it: "perhaps this may be the last. *Father, thy will be done*: it is good for us to be at such uncertainties; for now we receive our liberty from our Father, fresh every day, which is best and sweetest of all."

On the 3d of March, 1676-7, being Saturday night, the town of Wem, in Shropshire, (about six miles from him) was burnt down; the church, market-house, and about 126 dwelling houses, and one man, in little more than an hour's time, the wind being exceeding violent; at which time Mr. Henry was very helpful to his friends there, both for their support under, and their improvement of this sad providence. It was but about half a year before, that a threatening fire had broke out in that town, but did little hurt; some serious people there, presently after celebrated a thanksgiving for their deliverance, in which Mr. Henry imparted to them a spiritual gift (October 3, 1676) from Zech. iii. 2, *Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?* In the close of that sermon, pressing them from the consideration of that remarkable deliverance, to personal reformation and amendment of life: that those who had been proud, covetous, passionate, lyers, swearers, drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, would

would be so no more; and urging Ezra ix. 13, 14, he added, "if this providence have not this effect upon you, you may in reason expect another fire; for when God judgeth he will overcome;" and minded them of Lev. xxvi. where it is so often threatened against those who walk contrary to God, that *he would punish them yet seven times more*. The remembrance of this could not but be affecting, when in so short a time after, the whole town was laid in ruins. The first time he went thither after that calamity, a neighbouring justice having notice of it, sent to forbid him to preach, to his own grief, as well as to the grief of many others, who came expecting. But (saith he in his diary) there was a visible sermon before us, the ruins preaching, that sin is an evil thing, and God a terrible God. However, a few days after, he got an opportunity of preaching to them a word in season, which some will not forget, from Hos. vi. 1, *Come, and let us return unto the Lord, for he hath torn*——. And at the return of the year, when the town was in the rebuilding, he gave them another very suitable sermon, from Prov. iii. 33, *The curse of the Lord is in the house of the wicked, but he blesseth the habitation of the just*. "Though it be rising again," saith he in his diary, "out of its ashes, yet the burning of it should not be forgotten, especially not the sin that kindled it." He often prayed for them, that the fire might be a refining fire.

In the years 1677, 1678, and 1679, in the course of his ministry at Broad-Oak, he preached over the *Ten Commandments*, and largely opened from other texts of Scripture the duties required, and sins forbidden, in each commandment. For though none delighted more than he in preaching Christ and Gospel-grace, yet he knew that Christ came not to
destroy

destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil; and that, though through grace we are not under the law, as a covenant; yet we are under it as a rule, under the law to Christ. He was very large and particular in pressing *second table* duties, as essential to Christianity. "We have known those," saith he, "that have called preaching on such subjects, *good moral preaching*; but let them call it as they will, I am sure it is *necessary*, and as much now as ever." How earnestly would he press upon the people the necessity of righteousness and honesty, in their whole conversations. A good Christian (he used to say) will be a good husband, and a good father, and a good master, and a good subject, and a good neighbour, and so in other relations. How often would he urge to this purpose, that it is the will and command of the great God, the character of all the citizens of Sion, the beauty and ornament of our Christian profession, and the surest way to thrive and prosper in the world. *Honesty is the best policy*. He would say, that these are things in which the children of this world are competent judges. They that know not what belongs to faith and repentance, and prayer, yet know what belongs to the making of an honest bargain: they are also parties concerned, and oftentimes are themselves careful in these things; and therefore those who profess religion, should walk very circumspectly, that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed, nor religion wounded through their sides. Thus he preached, and his constant practice was a comment upon it. One thing I remember he was more than ordinarily enlarged in the pressing of, which was upon the ninth commandment, *to speak evil of no man*, from Tit. iii. 2. If we can say no good of persons, we must say nothing of them. He gave it as a rule, "never
to

to speak of any one's faults to others, till we have first spoken of them to the offender himself." He was himself an eminent example of this rule. Some that have conversed much with him, have said, that they never heard him speak evil of any body; nor could he bear to hear any spoken evil of, but often drove away a backbiting-tongue with an angry countenance. He was known to be as faithful a patron of offenders before others, as he was a faithful reprover of them to themselves.

Whenever he preached of moral duties, he would always have something of Christ in his sermon; either his life, as the great pattern of the duty; or his love, as the great motive to it; or his merit, as making atonement for the neglect of it.

In the year 1680, he preached over the doctrines of *faith* and *repentance*, from several texts of Scripture. He used to say, that he had been told concerning the famous Mr. Dod, that some called him in scorn, *Faith and Repentance*; because he insisted so much upon those two, in all his preaching. "But," saith he, "if this be to be vile, I will be yet more vile: for faith and repentance are all in all in Christianity."

Concerning repentance he hath sometimes said, "if I were to die in the pulpit, I would desire to die preaching repentance; as if I die out of the pulpit, I would desire to die practising repentance." And he had often this saying concerning repentance; "He that repents every day, for the sins of every day, when he comes to die, will have the sins but of one day to repent of. Even reckonings make long friends."

That year also, and the year 1681, he preached over the duties of *hearing the word*, and *prayer*; of the former, from the parable of the four sorts of ground; of the latter, from Luke xi. 1, &c. when he

he preached over the Lord's Prayer, in above thirty excellent and elaborate discourses. He looked upon the Lord's Prayer, to be not only a *directory* or *pattern* for prayer, but (according to the advice of the assembly of divines) proper to be used as a *form*; and accordingly he often used it both in public and in his family. And as he thought it was an error on the one hand, to lay so much stress upon it as some do, who think no solemn prayer accepted, nor any solemn ordinance or administration of worship complete without it, and so repeat it five or six times, and perhaps oftener, at one meeting; so he thought it an error on the other hand not to use it at all; since it is a prayer, a compendious comprehensive prayer, and may be of use to us, at least as other Scripture prayers; but he thought it a much greater error to be angry at those that do use it, to judge and censure them, and for no other reason to conceive prejudices against them and their ministry. "A great strait" (saith he) "poor ministers are in, when some will not hear them, if they do not use the Lord's Prayer, and others will not hear them if they do^s. What is to be done in this case? We must walk according to the light we have, and approve ourselves to God, either in using or not using it, and wait for the day when God will mend the matter; which I hope he will do in his own due time."

He was in the close of his exposition of the Lord's Prayer, when a dark cloud was brought upon his assemblies, and he was necessitated to contract his sails.

^s *If they do.*] See Vol. IV. p. 530.

CHAP. VII.

The Rebukes he lay under at Broad-Oak, betwixt the Years 1680, and 1687.

IN the beginning of the year 1681, in April and May, the country was greatly afflicted and threatened by an extreme drought; there was no rain for several weeks; the grass failed; corn that was sown languished, and much that was intended to be sown, could not; the like had not been known for many years; it was generally apprehended that a dearth would ensue, especially in that country, which is for the most part dry. And now it was time to seek the Lord; and (according to his own appointment) to *ask of him rain in the season thereof*. Several serious thinking people being together at the funeral of that worthy minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Malden, it was there said, how requisite it was that there should be some time set apart on purpose for fasting and prayer, in a solemn assembly upon this occasion. Thomas Millington, of Weston, in Hodnet parish, in Shropshire, desired it might be at his house; and Tuesday, June 14, was the day pitched upon. The connivance of authority was presumed upon, because no disturbance of meetings was heard of at London, or any where else. Mr. Henry was desired to come and give his assistance at that day's work. He asked upon what terms they stood with their neighbouring justices, and it was answered, *well enough*. The drought continuing in extremity, some that had not used to come to such meetings, yet came thither upon the apprehension they had of the threatening judgment, which the country was under.

under. Mr. Edward Bury, of Bolas (well known by several useful books he hath published) prayed. Mr. Henry prayed and preached on Psalm lxvi. 18. *If I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me*; whence his doctrine was, that iniquity regarded in the heart, will certainly spoil the success of prayer. When he was in the midst of his sermon closely applying this truth, Sir T. V. of Hodnet, and Mr. M. of Ightfield, two justices of the peace for Shropshire, with several others, of their retinue, came suddenly upon them, disturbed them, set guards upon the house door, and came in themselves, severely rallied all they knew, reflected upon the late honourable House of Commons, and the vote they passed, concerning the present unreasonableness of putting the laws in execution against Protestant Dissenters, as if in so voting, they had acted beyond their sphere, as they did who took away the life of King Charles I. They diverted themselves with very abusive and unbecoming talk; swearing and cursing and reviling bitterly. Being told the occasion of the meeting was to seek to turn away the anger of God from us in the present drought: it was answered, such meetings as these were the cause of God's anger. While they were thus entertaining themselves, their clerks took the names of those that were present, in all, about one hundred and fifty, and so dismissed them for the present. Mr. Henry hath noted, in the account he kept of this event, that the justices came to this good work from the ale-house upon Prees Heath, about two miles off; to which, and the bowling-green adjoining, they, with other justices, gentlemen and clergymen of the neighbourhood, had long before obliged themselves to come every Tuesday, during the summer time, under the penalty of twelve pence a time if they

they were absent; and there to spend the day in drinking and bowling; which is thought to be as direct a violation of the law of the land, viz. the Statute of 33 Henry VIII. cap. 9. *for debarring unlawful games*, which was never yet repealed, as the meeting was of the Statute of 22 Car. II. and as much more to the dishonour of God, and the scandal of the Christian profession, as cursing and swearing, and drunkenness is worse than praying, and singing psalms, and hearing the word of God. It is supposed that the justices knew of the meeting before, and might have prevented it by the least intimation; but they were willing to take the opportunity of making sport to themselves, and trouble to their neighbours. After the feat done, they returned back to the alehouse, and made themselves and their companions merry with calling over the names they had taken, making their reflections as they saw cause; and recounting the particulars of the exploit. There was one of the company, whose wife happened to be present at the meeting, and her name taken among the rest; with which upbraiding him, he answered that she had been better employed than he was, and if Mr. Henry might be admitted to preach in a church, he would go a great many miles to hear him. For which words he was forthwith expelled their company, and never more to shew his face again at that bowling-green; to which he replied, if they had so ordered long ago, it had been a great deal the better for him and his family. Two days after they met again at Hodnet, where, upon the oath of two witnesses, who (as was supposed) were sent on purpose to inform, they signed and sealed two records of conviction. By one record they convicted the master of the house, and fined him 20l. and 5l. more as constable of the

town that year, and with him all the persons present, whose names they had taken, and fined them five shillings apiece, and issued out warrants accordingly. By another record they convicted the two ministers, Mr. Bury and Mr. Henry. The Act makes it only punishable to *preach or teach* in any such conventicle; and yet they fined Mr. Bury 20l. though he only *prayed*, and did not speak one word in the way either of preaching or teaching, not so much as *let us pray*; however, they said, praying was teaching, and right or wrong he must be fined; though his great piety, peaceableness and usefulness, besides his deep poverty, one would think might have pleaded for him, against so palpable a piece of injustice. They took 7l. off from him, and laid it upon others, as they saw cause; and for the remaining 13l. he being utterly unable to pay it, they took from him by distress, the bed which he lay upon, with blanket and rug; also another feather-bed, nineteen pair of sheets, most of them new; of which he he could not prevail to have so much as one pair returned for him to lie in; also books to the value of 5l. besides brass and pewter. And though he was at this time perfectly innocent of that heinous crime of preaching and teaching, with which he was charged (for so the record runs again and again, concerning Mr. Henry and Mr. Bury, *Quod ad tunc et ibidem precaverunt, prædicaverunt et docuerunt.*) Yet he had no way to right himself, but by appealing to the justices themselves, in quarter sessions, who would be sure to affirm their own decree (as the justices in Montgomeryshire had done not long before, in a like case) especially when it was to recover to themselves treble costs. So the good man sat down with his loss, and *took joyfully the spoiling of his goods;*

goods ; knowing in himself, that he had in Heaven a better, and a more enduring substance.

But Mr. Henry being the greatest criminal, and having done the most mischief, must needs be animadverted upon accordingly, and therefore he was fined 40l. the pretence of which was this. In the year 1679, Oct. 15, Mr. Kynaston, of Oatly, a justice of peace in Shropshire, meeting him and some others coming, as he supposed, from a conventicle, he was pleased to record their conviction, *upon the notorious evidence and circumstance of the fact.* The record was filed at Salop the next Sessions after ; but no notice was ever sent of it, either to Mr. Henry, or the justices of Flintshire ; nor any prosecution upon it, against any of the parties charged (the reason of which Mr. Henry, in a narrative he wrote of this affair, supposeth to be not only the then favourable posture of public affairs towards dissenters, but also the particular prudence and lenity of Mr. Kynaston) so that having never smarted for this, he could not be supposed to be deterred from the like offence ; nor if he were wronged in that first conviction, had he ever any opportunity of making his appeal. However the justices being resolved he should have *summum jus*, thought that first record sufficient to give denomination to a second offence, and so he came to be fined double. This conviction (according to the direction of the Act) they certified to the next adjoining justices of Flintshire, who had all along carried themselves with great temper and moderation towards Mr. Henry, and had never given him any disturbance ; though if they had been so minded, they had not wanted opportunities ; but they were now necessitated to execute the sentences of the Shropshire justices. It was much pressed upon him to pay the fine, which

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might prevent his own loss, and the justices' trouble. But he was not willing to do it, partly because he would give no encouragement to such prosecutions, nor voluntarily reward the informers for that which he thought they should rather be punished for; and partly because he thought himself wronged in the doubling of the fine. Whereupon his goods were distrained upon, and carried away; in the doing of which many passages occurred, which might be worth the noting, but that the repetition of them would perhaps grate and give offence to some. Let it therefore suffice (waving the circumstances) to remember only that their warrant not giving them authority to break open doors, nor their watchfulness getting them an opportunity to enter the house, they carried away about thirty-three cart load of goods without doors, corn cut upon the ground, hay, coals, &c. This made a great noise in the country, and raised the indignation of many, against the decrees which prescribed this grievousness; while Mr. Henry bore it with his usual evenness and serenity of mind, not at all moved or disturbed by it. He did not boast of his sufferings, or make any great matter of them; but would often say, "Alas! this is nothing to what others suffer, nor to what we ourselves may suffer before we die:" And yet he rejoiced and blessed God that it was not for debt, or for evil-doing that his goods were carried away. "And" (saith he) "while it is for well-doing that we suffer, they cannot harm us*." He frequently expressed the assurance he had, that whatever damage he sustained, God is able to make it up again. And (as he used to say) though we may be losers *for*

* Thus he writes in his Diary upon it, "How often have we said that changes are at the door, but blessed be God there is no sting in this."

Christ,

Christ, yet we shall not be losers *by* him in the end. He had often said, that his preaching was likely to do the most good, when it was sealed to by suffering; "and if this be the time" (saith he) "*welcome the will of God*; even this also shall turn to the furtherance of the Gospel of Christ: *Bene agere et male pati vere christianum est.*"

Soon after this, was the Assizes for Flintshire, held at Mold, where sir George Jeffries, afterwards lord chancellor, then chief justice of Chester, sat judge. He did not in private conversation seem to applaud what was done in this matter, so as was expected; whether out of a private pique against some that had been active in it, or for what other reason is not known; but it was said, he pleasantly asked some of the gentlemen, by what new law they pressed carts, as they passed upon their occasions along the road, to carry away goods distrained for a conventicle? It was also said, that he spoke with some respect of Mr. Henry; saying, he knew him and his character well, and that he was a great friend of his mother's (Mrs. Jeffries, of Acton, near Wrexham, a very pious, good woman) and that sometimes, at his mother's request, Mr. Henry had examined him in his learning, when he was a school-boy, and had commended his proficiency. And it was much wondered at by many, that of all the times Sir George Jeffries went that circuit (though it is well enough known what was his temper, and what the temper of that time) yet he never sought any occasion against Mr. Henry, nor took the occasions that were offered, nor countenanced any trouble intended him, though he was the only Nonconformist in Flintshire. One passage I remember, not improper to be mentioned; there had been an agreement among some ministers (I think it began in the West of England, where

where Mr. Allen was) to spend some time, either in secret or in their families, or both, between six and eight o'clock every Monday morning, in prayer for the Church of God, and for the land and nation, more fully and particularly than at other times, and to make that their special errand at the throne of grace; and to engage as many of their praying friends, as ever they could, to the observance of it. This had been communicated to Mr. Henry, by some of his friends at London, and he punctually observed it in his own practice; I believe for many years. He also mentioned it to some of his acquaintance, who did in like manner observe it. It happened that one in Denbighshire, to whom he had communicated it, was so well pleased with it, that he wrote a letter of it to a friend of his at a distance; which letter happened into hands that perverted it, and made some information upon it, against the writer and receiver of the letter, who were bound over to the Assizes, and great suspicions sir George Jeffries had, that it was a branch of the Presbyterian plot, and rallied the parties accused severely. It appeared, either by the letter, or by the confession of the parties, that they received the project from Mr. Henry, which (it was greatly feared) would bring him into trouble; but sir George, to the admiration of many, let it fall, and never enquired further into it. It seems there are some men, whose ways so please the Lord, that *he makes even their enemies to be at peace with them*; and there is nothing lost by trusting in God.

Mr. Henry, at the next Assizes after he was distained upon, was presented by one of the high constables; 1. For *keeping a conventicle at his house*; and 2. For saying, *That the law for suppressing*

pressing conventicles ought not to be obeyed; and that there was never a tittle of the word of God in it. As to this latter presentment, it was altogether false. He had indeed in discourse with the high constable, when he insisted so much upon the law, which required him to be so rigorous in the prosecution, objected, *That all human laws were not to be obeyed, merely because they were laws:* but as to any such reflections upon the law he suffered by, he was far from it, and had prudence enough to keep silence at that time; for it was an evil time when so many were made offenders for a word. But these presentments met with so little countenance from judge Jeffries, that Mr. Henry only entered his appearance in the prothonotaries office, and they were no more heard of; wherein he acknowledged the hand of God, who turneth the hearts of the children of men, as the rivulets of water.

As to what was taken from him by the distress, they who took it made what markets they pleased of it, paid those they employed, and what the remainder was, is not known for certain; but it was said, that the following summer about 27l. was paid to sir T. V. of which (and the rest that was levied in other places, which amounted to a considerable sum) it was credibly reported (and I have not heard it contradicted) that neither the king nor the poor had their share, (which by the Act is to be two thirds) nor the informers all theirs neither; but people said, the gentleman had occasion for it all. But as they that had it were never the richer for it, so he that lost it would often say, that he found that God did so abundantly bless the remainder to him, that he was never the poorer; which he would mention for the encouragement of his

his friends, not to balk duty (as he used to express it) for fear of suffering.

In the same year, 1681, happened a public discourse at Oswestry, betwixt the then bishop of St. Asaph (Dr. William Lloyd, now bishop of Coventry and Litchfield) and some nonconformist ministers, of which Mr. Henry was one. The story in short is this: that learned bishop at his first coming to the diocese of St. Asaph, in his zeal for the established Church, set himself with vigour to reduce dissenters to it; and that he might do it with *the cords of a man*, he resolved, before he took any other methods, to reason the matter with them, and to endeavour their conviction by discourse, in which he had a very great felicity, both by his learning and temper. If there were any that declined discoursing with him, he improved that against them very much; urging (as he wrote afterwards to Mr. Henry) "that no man can pretend conscience for not coming when he is required, to give an account of his religion, to them that have authority to demand it, by the laws under which he lives, and to hear from their mouths what can be said for the established religion. These are things from which conscience is so far from exempting, that the great rule of conscience requires it, as an indispensable duty, *that we should be always ready to give an account of the hope that is in us; and that we should hear them that are in Moses's chair, &c.* and therefore those who refused this, he would consider as men governed, not by conscience, but obstinacy."

He publicly discoursed with the quakers in Llanvillin, in Montgomeryshire. Their champion was Dr. Lloyd, a physician. One of the most considerable nonconformist ministers in his diocese was Mr. James Owen, of Oswestry, then very young, but

but well known since by his learned book, which he calls, *A Plea for Scripture Ordination*; proving ordination by Presbyters, without diocesan bishops, to be valid, (published in the year 1694) a point of controversy which he was then obliged in his own defence to search into. Several discourses the bishop had with him in private; at last his lordship was pleased to appoint him, to give him the meeting in the town-hall of Oswestry, on Tuesday, Sept. 27, 1681, there to give account *by what right he exercised the ministry, not having episcopal ordination*. He directed him also to procure what other ministers he could to assist him, for he would be glad to hear what any of them had to say for themselves. The notice was very short, not above four or five days. Some whose assistance was desired, apprehended it might do more hurt than good, and might be prejudicial to their own liberty, and therefore declined it. It was not agreeable to Mr. Henry's mild and modest temper, to appear in such circumstances; but he was loth to desert his friend Mr. Owen, and so with much importunity, he was prevailed with to come to Oswestry, at the time appointed; and there came no other but he and Mr. Jonathan Roberts, of Denbighshire, in the diocese of Bangor, a plain man, of great integrity, and a very good scholar. The bishop came according to appointment, and brought with him for his assistant, the famous Mr. Henry Dodwell. Mr. Henry, who was utterly a stranger to the bishop, pressed hard to have had the discourse in private, before a select number, but it would not be granted. He also desired his lordship that it might not be expected from him, being of another diocese, to concern himself in the discourse, but only as a hearer: "nay, Mr. Henry," said the bishop, "it is not the concern of my diocese

cese alone, but it is the common cause of religion, and therefore I expect you should interest yourself in it more than as a hearer." His lordship was pleased to promise, that nothing that should be said by way of argument, should be any way turned to the prejudice of the disputants, nor advantage taken of it to give them trouble. There were present divers of the clergy and gentry of the country, with the magistrates of the town, and a great number of people, which, if it could have been avoided, was not easy to Mr. Henry, who never loved any thing that made a noise; herein like his master, who *did not strive nor cry*. The discourse began about two o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till between seven and eight at night; much was said *pro* and *con*, touching the identity of bishops and presbyters, the bishopping and unbishopping of Timothy and Titus, the validity of presbyterian ordination, &c. It was managed with a great deal of liberty, and not under the strict laws of disputation, which made it hard to give any tolerable account of the particulars of it. The arguments on both sides may better be fetched from the books written on the subject, than from such a discourse. The bishop managed his part of the conference with a great deal of gravity, calmness, and evenness of spirit, and therein gave an excellent pattern to all that are in such stations. Mr. Henry's remark upon this business in his diary is this, "that whereas many reports went abroad far and near concerning it, every one passing their judgment upon the result of it as they stood affected; for my own part," saith he, "upon reflection, I find I have great reason to be ashamed of my manifold infirmities and imperfections; and yet do bless God, that seeing I could manage it no better, to do the truth more service, there was not more said and done to its dis-

disservice: to God be glory." But there were others, who said, that Mr. Henry was an instrument of glorifying God, and serving the church in that affair, almost as much as in any thing that ever he did, except the preaching of the Gospel. And some who were adversaries to the cause he pleaded, though they were not convinced by his arguments, yet by his great meekness and humility, and that truly Christian spirit, which appeared so evidently in the whole management, were brought to have a better opinion of him, and the way in which he walked.

The conference broke off a little abruptly. The bishop and Mr. Henry being somewhat close at an argument, in the recapitulation of what had been discoursed of; Mr. Jonathan Roberts whispered to Mr. Henry, "pray let my lord have the last word;" which a justice of peace upon the bench over-hearing, presently replied, "you say my lord shall have the last word, but he shall not, for I will: we thank God we have the sword of power in our hands, and by the grace of God we will keep it, and it shall not rust, and I hope every lawful magistrate will do as I do: and look to yourselves, gentlemen, by the grace of God I will root you out of the country." To which a forward man in the crowd said, "amen, throw them down stairs." This the bishop heard with silence, but the mayor of the town took order for their safety.

Two days after this discourse, the bishop wrote a very obliging letter to Mr. Henry, to signify to him how very much he was pleased with the good temper and spirit that he found in him at Oswestry, and that he looked upon him as one that intended well, but laboured under prejudices; and to desire further acquaintance and conversation with him, particularly that he would come to him strait way
to

to Wrexham; and about three months after he sent for him again to Chester; in both which interviews a great deal of discourse, with much freedom, passed between them in private, in which they seemed to vie in nothing more than candour and obligingness, shewing to each other all meekness. I remember the bishop was pleased to shew him his plan for the government of his diocese, and the method he intended to take in church-censures, which Mr. Henry very well approved of; but pleasantly told his lordship, he hoped he would take care that Juvenal's verse should not be again verified, (Sat. 2.)

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.

which the bishop smiled at, and told him he would take care it should not. His lordship observing his true Catholic charity and moderation, told him he did not look upon him as *σχισματικός*, but only as *παρὰ συνάγωγος*; and that if he were in his diocese, he did not question but that he should find out some way to make him useful. But all his reasonings could not satisfy Mr. Henry's conscience of the lawfulness of being re-ordained, and conforming. The bishop for some years after, when he came that way, towards London, either called on Mr. Henry at his house, or sent for him to him at Whitchurch, and still with all outward expressions of friendship.

The trouble which Mr. Henry was in, about the meeting at Weston, obliged him for a while to keep his Sabbaths at home, somewhat private; but in the year 1682, he took a greater liberty, and many flocked to him on Lord's days, through the kind connivance of the neighbouring magistrates; but in the year 1683, when the meetings were generally

nerally suppressed throughout the kingdom, he was again necessitated to contract his sails, and confine his labours more to his own family, and his friends that visited him. He continued his attendance at Whitewell Chapel as usual; and when he was abridged of his liberty, he often blessed God for his quietness. Once when one of the curates preached a bitter sermon against the dissenters, on a Lord's day morning; some wondered that Mr. Henry would go again in the afternoon, for the second part; "but," saith he, "if he do not know his duty, I know mine; and I bless God I can find honey in a carcase."

In this time of *treading down, and of perplexity*, he stirred little abroad, being forced (as he used to express it) *to throw the plow under the hedge*; but he preached constantly at home, without disturbance; and often comforted himself with this, "when we cannot do what we would, if we do what we can, God will accept of us: when we cannot keep open shop, we must drive a secret trade." And he would say, "there is a mean, if we could hit it, between fool-hardiness, and faint-heartedness." While he had some opportunity of being useful at home, he was afraid lest he should prejudice that by venturing abroad. One of his friends in London earnestly soliciting him to make a visit thither in this time of restraint in the country, he thus wrote to him; "I should be glad once more to kiss my native soil, though it were but with a kiss of valediction; but my indisposedness to travel, and the small prospect there is of doing good to countervail the pains, are my prevailing arguments against it. I am here (it is true) buried alive, but I am quiet in my grave, and have no mind to be a walking ghost. We rejoice, and desire to be thankful, that God hath given us a home, and continued it

it to us, when so many, better than we, have not where to lay their head, having no certain dwelling-place:" (it was at the time of the dispersion of the French protestants) "why they exiles, and not we? They strangers in a strange land, and not we? We must not say, *we will die in our nests*, lest God say, *nay*; nor *we will multiply our days as that bird, the phoenix*," (referring to Job xxix. 18.) "lest God say, *this night*, &c. Our times and all our ways are at his dispose, absolutely and universally, and it is very well they are so."

At the time of the duke of Monmouth's descent, and the insurrection in the west, in the year 1685, Mr. Henry, as many others, (pursuant to a general order of the lord-lieutenant, for securing all suspected persons, and particularly all nonconformist ministers) was taken up by a warrant from the deputy-lieutenants, and sent under a guard to Chester Castle, where he was about three weeks a close prisoner. He was lodged with some gentlemen and ministers that were fetched thither out of Lancashire, who were all strangers to him; but he had great comfort in the acquaintance and society of many of them.

He often spake of this imprisonment, not as matter of complaint, but of thanksgiving, and blessed God he was in nothing uneasy all the while. In a sermon to his family, the day after he came home, he largely and affectionately recounted the mercies of that providence: as for instance, "that his imprisonment was for no cause: it is guilt that makes a prison. That it was his security in a dangerous time. That he had good company in his sufferings, who prayed together, and read the Scriptures together, and discoursed to their mutual edification. That he had health there, not *sick*, and *in prison*; that he was visited and prayed for by
his

his friends. That he was very cheerful and easy in his spirit, many a time asleep and quiet, when his adversaries were disturbed and unquiet. That his enlargement was speedy and unsought for, and that it gave occasion to the magistrates who committed him, to give it under their hands, that they had nothing in particular to lay to his charge; and especially that it was without a snare, which was the thing he feared more than any thing else."

It was a surprize to some that visited him in his imprisonment, and were big with the expectations of the duke of Monmouth's success, to hear him say, "I would not have you to flatter yourselves with such hopes, for God will not do his work for us in these nations, by that man; but our deliverance and salvation will arise some other way."

It must not be forgotten how ready he was, nay, how studious and industrious, to serve and oblige such as had been any way instruments of trouble to him, as far as it lay in his power, and he had any opportunity to do it; so well had he learned that great lesson of forgiving and loving enemies; of this it were easy to give instances.

When a gentleman who had sometimes been an instrument of trouble to him, had occasion to make use of his help to give him some light into a cause he had to be tried, Mr. Henry was very ready to serve him in it; and though he might have declined it, and it was somewhat against his own interest too, yet he appeared a witness for him, which so won upon the gentleman, that he was afterwards more friendly to him. Mentioning in his diary the death of another gentleman in Shropshire, he notes, that he was one that had been his professed enemy; "but," saith he, "God knows I have often prayed for him."

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Some have wondered to see how courteously and friendly he would speak to such as had been any way injurious to him, when he met with them, being as industrious to discover his forgiving of wrongs, as some are to discover their resentments of them. It was said of archbishop Cranmer, that the way to have him one's friend, was to do him a diskindness; and I am sure it might be said of Mr. Henry, that doing him a diskindness would not make him one's enemy. This minds me of an exemplary passage concerning his worthy friend, Mr. Edward Lawrence: once going with some of his sons, by the house of a gentleman that had been injurious to him, he gave a charge to his sons to this purpose, that they should never think or speak amiss of that gentleman, for the sake of any thing he had done against him; but whenever they went by his house, should lift up their hearts in prayer to God for him and his family. And who is he that will harm those, who are thus followers of him that is good, in his goodness? It is almost the only temporal promise in the New Testament, which is made to the meek, (Matt. v. 5.) that *they shall inherit the earth*; the meaning whereof Dr. Hammond, in his Practical Catechism, takes to be especially this, that in the ordinary dispensations of God's providence, the most mild and quiet people are most free from disturbance. Those only have every man's hand against them, that have their's against every man.

CHAP. VIII.

*The last Nine Years of his Life in Liberty and
Inlargement at Broad-Oak, from the Year
1687.*

IT was in the latter end of the year 1685, when the stream ran so very strong against the dissenters, that Mr. Henry being in discourse with a very great man of the Church of England, mentioned king Charles's indulgence in 1672, as that which gave rise to his stated preaching in a separate assembly; and added, "if the present king James should in like manner give me leave, I would do the same again:" to which that great man replied, "never expect any such thing from him, for take my word for it, he hates you nonconformists in his heart." "Truly," said Mr. Henry, "I believe it; and I think he doth not love you of the Church of England neither." It was then little thought that the same right reverend person who said so to him, should have the honour, as he had soon after, to be one of the seven bishops committed to the Tower by king James; as it was also far from any one's expectation, that the same king James should so quickly give liberty to the nonconformists: but we live in a world wherein we are to think nothing strange, nor be surprised at any turn of the wheel of nature, as it is called, James iii. 6.

The measures then taken by king James's court and council were soon laid open, not only to view, but to contempt, being in a short time, by the overruling providence of God, broken and defeated. However, the indulgence granted to dissenters in

April, 1687, must needs be a reviving to those, who for so many years had lain buried in silence and restraint; nor can any, who will allow themselves the liberty of supposing the case their own, wonder that they should rejoice in it, though the design of it being manifest, they could not choose, but *rejoice with trembling*. Mr. Henry's sentiments of it were, "whatever men's ends are in it, I believe God's end in it is to do us good."

There were many that said, surely the dissenters will not embrace⁶ the liberty which is intended only for a snare to them. Mr. Henry read and considered the *Letter of Advice to the Dissenters* at that juncture; but concluded, "duty is ours, and events are God's." He remembered the experience he had had of the like in king Charles's time, and that did good, and no hurt; and why might not this do so too? All power is for edification, not for destruction. Did Jeremiah sit still in the court of the prison, because he had his discharge from the king of Babylon? Nay, did not Paul, when he was persecuted by his countrymen, for preaching the Gospel, appeal to Cæsar; and find more kindness at Rome, than he did at Jerusalem? In short, the principle of *his conversation in the world* being not *fleshly wisdom*, or policy, but *the grace of God*, and particularly the grace of *simplicity and godly sincerity*, he was willing to make the best of that which was, and to hope the best of the design and issue of it. Doubtless it was intended to introduce Popery; but it is certain, that nothing could arm people against Popery more effectually than the plain and powerful preaching of the Gospel; and thus they who granted that liberty, were out-shot

⁶ *Will not embrace.*] See *Life of Kettlewell*, p. 141, &c. also *Calamy's Life of Howe*, p. 132, &c.

in their own bow, which manifestly appeared in the event and issue. And as they did good service to the Protestant religion among scholars, who wrote so many learned books against Popery at that time, for which we return them our best thanks; so they did no less service among the common people (who are the strength and body of the nation) that preached so many good sermons to arm their hearers against that strong delusion, which Mr. Henry (as the rest of the nonconformists generally did) took all occasions to do. How often would he commend his hearers (as Dr. Holland, divinity professor in Oxford was wont to do) "to the love of God, and the hatred of Popery."

Besides his preaching professedly to discover the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, (which he would have taken occasion to do more fully, had he seen those he preached to, in any immediate danger of the infection) there could not be a more effectual antidote against Popery, than the instructing and confirming of people in the truth, as it is in Jesus; and advancing the knowledge of, and a value and veneration for, the holy Scriptures; to which, how much Mr. Henry in his place did contribute, all that knew him will bear record. He used to observe, that the fall of Babylon followed upon the free and open preaching of *the everlasting Gospel*, (Rev. xiv. 6, 7.) He apprehended this liberty likely to be of very short continuance, and to end in trouble; and because he could not see how his not using of it would help to prevent the trouble; but he did see, that his vigorous improvement of it, would help to prepare for the trouble, he set himself with all diligence, to make the best use he could of this gleam, both at home and abroad, on Sabbath-days and week-days, to his power, yea, and beyond his power.

The great subject of debate at this time in the nation, was, concerning the repeal of penal laws and tests. Mr. Henry's thoughts were, as to the penal laws, that if those against the dissenters were all repealed, he would rejoice in it, and be very thankful both to God and man; for he would sometimes say, without reflection upon any, he could not but look upon them as a national sin; and as for those against the papists, "if our lawgivers see cause to repeal them in a regular way, I will endeavour," saith he, "to make the best of it, and to say, *the will of the Lord be done!*"

When king James came his progress in that country, in September, 1687, to court the compliments of the people, Mr. Henry, joined with several others, in and about Whitchurch, Nantwich, and Wem, in an address to him, which was presented when he lay at Whitchurch; the purport of which was, not to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to him and to his interest, but only to return him thanks for the liberty they had, with a promise to demean themselves quietly in the use of it.

Some time after, commissioners were sent abroad into the country, to enquire after the trouble that dissenters had sustained by the penal laws; and how the money that was levied upon them was disposed of, little of it being found paid into the Exchequer. They sent to Mr. Henry to have an account from him of his sufferings: he returned answer by letter, that he had indeed been fined some years before, for a conventicle, and distrained upon, and his goods carried away; which all the country knew, and to which he referred himself. But being required to give a particular account of it upon oath, though he said he could be glad to see such instruments of trouble legally removed, yet he declined giving any further information concerning it;

it; "having," (as he wrote to the commissioners) "long since, from his heart, forgiven all the agents, instruments, and occasions of it; and having purposed never to say any thing more of it."

It was on Tuesday, June 14, 1681, that he was disturbed at Weston, in Shropshire, when he was preaching on Psalm lxvi. 18: and on Tuesday, June 14, 1687, that day six years, he preached there again without disturbance, finishing what he was then prevented from delivering, concerning prayer, and going on to verse 19, 20, *But verily God hath heard me—blessed be God*—concerning the duty of thanksgiving. This seventh year of their silence and restraint proved, through God's wonderful good providence, the year of release.

In May, 1688, a new commission of the peace came down for the county of Flint, in which (by whose interest or procurement was not known) Mr. Henry was nominated a justice of peace for that county. It was no small surprize to him, to receive a letter from the clerk of the peace, directed to *Philip Henry, esquire*, acquainting him with it, and appointing him when and whither to come to be sworn. To which he returned answer, that he was very sensible of his unworthiness of the honour, and his unfitness for the office which he was nominated to, and therefore desired to be excused; and he was so, and did what he could, that it might not be spoken of in the country. There were some, who upon this occasion unhappily remembered, that a few years before, a reverend clergyman in Shropshire told Mr. Henry to his face, that he had done more mischief in the country, than any man that ever came into it; and that he himself hoped shortly to be in the commission of peace, and then he would rid the country of him. But alas he was quite disappointed. Thus honour is like the shadow,

dow, which flies from those that pursue it, and follows those that flee from it.

For two years after this liberty began, Mr. Henry still continued his attendance, as usual, at Whitewell Chapel, whenever there was preaching there; and he preached at his own house only when there was no supply there, and in the evening of those days when there was. For doing thus, he was greatly clamoured against, by some of the rigid separatists, and called *a dissembler*, and one *that halted between two*, and the like. "Thus," (as he notes in his diary) "one side told him he was the author of all the mischief in the country, in drawing people *from* the church; and the other side told him, he was the author of all the mischief, in drawing people *to* the church: and which of these (saith he) shall I seek to please? Lord, neither, but thyself alone, and my own conscience; and while I can do that, I have enough."

In a sermon at Whitewell Chapel, one Lord's day in the afternoon, where he and his family, and many of his congregation were attending, much was said, with some keen reflections, to prove the dissenters schismatics, and in a damnable state. When he came immediately after to preach at his own house, before he began his sermon, he expressed himself to this purpose; "perhaps some of you may expect now that I should say something in answer to what we have heard, by which we have been so severely charged; but truly I have something else to do;" and so, without any further notice taken of it, went on to preach Jesus Christ and him crucified.

It was not without some fear and trembling, that Mr. Henry received the tidings of the prince of Orange's landing, in November, 1688, as being somewhat in the dark concerning the clearness of
his

his call, and dreading what might be the consequence of it. He used to say, *Give peace in our time, O Lord*, was a prayer that he would heartily set his *amen* to. But when secret things were brought to light, and a regular course was taken to fill the vacant throne with such a king and such a queen, none rejoiced in it more heartily than he did. He celebrated the national thanksgiving for that great deliverance, with an excellent sermon on that text, Rom. viii. 31, *What shall we then say to these things? If God be for us, who can be against us?*

Soon after that happy settlement, there were overtures made towards a comprehension⁷ of the moderate

⁷ *A comprehension.*] See Birch's Life of Tillotson: index *comprehension*.

The design of a comprehension was first concerted (after the private attempts made by bishop Wilkins, sir Matthew Hale, &c. in the reign of Charles II.) by abp. Sancroft, a short time before the end of the reign of king James II. See the speech of Wake, bishop of Lincoln, at the opening of the second article of impeachment of Dr. Sacheverell; where an account is given of the progress that was then made in that design. Very soon after the Revolution, the scheme was revived; and was very earnestly prosecuted by many eminent and excellent men; Stillingfleet, Patrick, Tillotson, Sharp, Tennison, Prideaux, &c. &c. An account is given by Calamy, Nicholls, Birch, and others, of the concessions to the objections of the Dissenters, which were then consented to by the commission, and prepared to be laid before the Convocation. But the patrons of the scheme, being, very much through the political ferments of the time, greatly out-numbered in that assembly, nothing was effected. It is said, that archbishop Tillotson afterwards declared his full persuasion of the utter impracticability of this his favourite project, considering the then temper of the Dissenters. Nor is it indeed to be wondered that the scheme should have failed, if they expected, that it should have been conducted upon terms required of us by one of their most eminent and leading writers in this controversy: namely, "that in order to a coalition, we must

part

moderate dissenters, with the Church of England; which Mr. Henry most earnestly desired, and wished for, if it could be had upon any terms less than sinning against his conscience; for never was any more averse to that which looked like a separation than he was, if he could possibly have helped it, *salvâ conscientiâ*. His prayers were constant, and his endeavours, as he had opportunity, that there might be some healing methods found out and agreed upon. But it is well known what was the *vox cleri* at that time, viz. that forasmuch as the oaths, subscriptions, and ceremonies were imposed only to keep out such men, they would never consent to their removal, for the letting them in again. *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari*, was a saying perverted to this purpose: and the fixed principle was, *Better a schism without the church, than a faction within it, &c.* This was at that time published and owned, as the sense of the clergy in convocation. Which temper and resolve, so contrary to that which might have been expected, upon that happy and glorious revolution, did a little alter his sentiments in that matter; and he saw himself perfectly driven from them. Despairing therefore to see an accommodation, he set himself the more vigorously to improve the present liberty. In June, 1689, the act of indulgence passed, which not only tolerated, but allowed the dissenters' meetings, and took them under the protection of the government.

Soon after which, though he never in the least changed his judgment as to the lawfulness of join-

part with our Episcopacy and Liturgy, and with all the Ceremonies, and in general with whatever is not of divine institution." Calamy's *Defence of Moderate Nonconformity*. Part III. p. 190. See Appendix to the Life of Tillotson, A. D. 1717. p. v.

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ing in the Common-Prayer, but was still ready to do it occasionally, yet the ministers that preached at Whitewell Chapel, being often uncertain in their coming, which kept his meeting at Broad-Oak at like uncertainties, to the frequent disappointment of many of his hearers that came from far; he was at last prevailed with to preach at public time every Lord's Day, which he continued to do while he lived, much to his own satisfaction, and the satisfaction of his friends. An eminent minister in Lancashire, who did in like manner alter his practice about that time, gave this for a reason, "that he had been for twenty-seven years striving to please a generation of men, who after all would not be pleased, and therefore he would no longer endeavour it as he had done."

It may be of use to give some account how he managed his ministerial work, in the latter part of his time, wherein he had as signal tokens of the presence of God with him, as ever; enabling him still to *bring forth fruit* in old age, and to *renew his youth like the eagle's*. Though what he did, he still did *gratis*, and would do so, yet he was not willing to have any constant assistant, nor had he any; so much was he in his element, when he was about his master's work: it was his meat and drink to do it.

1. As to his constant Sabbath-work, he was uniform and abundant in it. He began his morning family worship, on Lord's Days, at eight o'clock, when he read and expounded pretty largely, sang a psalm and prayed; and many strove to come time enough to join with him in that service. He began in public just at nine o'clock, winter and summer. His meeting-place was an out-building of his own, near adjoining to his house, fitted up very decently and conveniently for the purpose. He

He began with prayer, then he sang Psalm 100, without reading the line; next he read and expounded a chapter in the Old Testament in the morning, and in the New Testament in the afternoon. He looked upon the public reading of the Scriptures in religious assemblies, to be an ordinance of God, and that it tended very much to the edification of people by that ordinance, to have what is read expounded to them. The bare reading of the word, he used to compare to the throwing of a net into the water; but the expounding of it, is like the spreading out of that net, which makes it the more likely to catch fish; especially as he managed it with practical profitable observations. Some that have heard him read a chapter with this thought, "how will he make such a chapter as this useful to us?" have been surprized with such pertinent, useful instructions, as they have owned to be as much for their edification as any sermon. And commonly when he had expounded a chapter, he would desire them when they came home to read it over, and recollect some of those things that had been spoken to them out of it.

In his expounding of the Old Testament, he industriously sought for something in it concerning Christ, who is *the true treasure, hid in the field*, the true *manna* hid in the *dew* of the Old Testament. Take one instance; the last Sabbath that ever he spent with his children at Chester, in the public morning worship, he read and expounded the last chapter of the book of Job. After he had gone through the chapter, and observed what he thought fit out of it, he expressed himself to this purpose: "When I have read a chapter in the Old Testament, I use to enquire what there is in it that points at Christ, or is any way applicable to Christ; here is in this chapter a great deal of Job, but is there
there

there nothing of Christ here? Yes; you have heard of the patience of Job, and have in him seen the end of the Lord. This in Job is applicable to Christ, that after he had patiently gone through his sufferings, he was appointed an intercessor for his unkind friends (v. 8.) *Go to my servant Job, and my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept.* If any one hath an errand to God, let him go to Jesus Christ, and put it into his hand, for there is no acceptance to be hoped for with God but by him, who is his beloved Son; not only *with* whom he is well pleased, but *in* whom, viz. with us in him: he hath made us accepted in the beloved."

After the exposition of the chapter he sang a psalm, and commonly chose a psalm suitable to the chapter he had expounded; and would briefly tell his hearers how they might sing that psalm with understanding, and what affections of soul should be working towards God, in the singing of it. His hints of that kind were of great use, and contributed much to the right performance of that service. He often said, "the more singing of psalms there is in our families and congregations on Sabbath-days, the more like they are to Heaven, and the more there is in them of the everlasting Sabbath." He would say sometimes, he loved to sing *whole* psalms, rather than *pieces*.

After the sermon in the morning, he sang the 117th Psalm, without reading the line.

He intermitted at noon about an hour and a half, and on Sacrament-days not near so long, in which time he took some little refreshment in his study, making no solemn dinner; yet many of his friends did partake of his carnal, as well as of his spiritual things, as those did that followed Christ, of whom he was careful they should not *faint by the*
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the way. The morning sermon was repeated, by a ready writer, to those that staid in the meeting-place, as many did; and when that was done, he began the afternoon's exercise; in which he not only read and expounded a chapter, but catechized the children, and expounded the Catechism briefly before sermon. Thus did he go *from strength to strength*, and from duty to duty on Sabbath-days; running the ways of God's Commandments with an enlarged heart. And the variety and vivacity of his public services, made them exceeding pleasant to all that joined with him, who never had cause to complain of his being tedious. He used to say, "Every minute of Sabbath-time is precious, and none of it to be lost;" and that he scarce thought the Lord's Day well spent, if he were not weary in body at night; *wearied with* his work, but not *weary of* it, as he used to distinguish. He would say sometimes to those about him, when he had gone through the duties of a Sabbath; "Well, if this be not the way to Heaven, I do not know what is." In pressing people to *number their days*, he would especially exhort them to number their Sabbath-days, how many they have been, and how ill they have been spent; how few it is like they may be, that they may be spent better; and to help in the account, he would say, that for every twenty years of our lives, we enjoy above a thousand Sabbaths, which must all be accounted for in the day of reckoning.

As to his constant preaching, it was very substantial and elaborate, and greatly to edification. He used to say, he could not *starch* in his preaching; that is, he would not; as knowing, where the language and expression is stiff, and forced, and fine (as they call it) it doth not reach the greatest part of the hearers. When he grew old he would say,

say, sure he might now take a greater liberty to *talk* (as he called it) in the pulpit; that is, to speak familiarly to people; yet to the last he abated not in his preparations for the pulpit, nor ever delivered any thing raw and undigested; much less any thing unbecoming the gravity and seriousness of the work. If his preaching were talking, it was talking to the purpose. His sermons were not common-place; but even when his subjects were the most plain and trite, yet his management of them was usually peculiar and surprizing. In those years, as formerly, he kept for the most part in a method for subjects, and was very seldom above one Sabbath upon a text. And his constant practice was, as it had been before, when he concluded a subject that he had been a good while upon, he spent one Sabbath in a brief rehearsal of the marrow and substance of the many sermons he preached upon it; which he called *the clenching of the nail*, that it might be as a nail in a sure place. So very industrious was he, and no less ingenious in his endeavours, that his hearers might be *able, after his decease, to have these things always in remembrance*, (2 Pet. i. 15.) and it is hoped, that by the blessing of God, the effect did not altogether disappoint his expectation. In the later times of his ministry, he would often contrive the heads of his sermons to begin with the same letter, or rather two and two of a letter; but he did not at all seem to affect or force it; only if it fell in naturally and easily, he thought it a good help to memory, and of use, especially to the younger sort. And he would say, the chief reason why he did it was, because it is frequently observed in the Scripture, particularly the book of Psalms. And though it be not a fashionable ornament of discourse, if it be a Scripture ornament, that is sufficient to re-commend

commend it, at least to justify it against the imputation of childishness; (Mr. Porter, of Whitchurch, very much used it, so did Mr. Malden.) But the excellency of his sermons lay chiefly in the enlargements, which were always very solid, grave, and judicious; but in expressing and marshalling his heads, he often condescended below his own judgment, to help his hearers' memories. Some of his subjects (when he had finished them) he made some short memorandums of in verse, a distich or two of each Sabbath's work, and gave them out in writing, among the young ones of his congregation, many of whom wrote them, and learned them, and profited by them.

It might be of use (especially to those who had the happiness of sitting under his ministry) to give some account of the method of his Sabbath subjects, during the last eight or nine years of his ministry; and it was designed, till it was found it would swell this narrative into too great a bulk.

2. As to the administration of the Sacraments, those *mysteries of God*, which ministers are *the stewards* of.

As to the *sacrament of baptism*, he had never (that I know of) baptized any children (except his own) from the time he was turned out in 1662, till this last liberty came, though often desired to do it; such was the tender regard he had to the established church; but now he revived the administration of that ordinance in his congregation. The occasion was this: one of the parish-ministers preaching at Whitewell Chapel, Mr. Henry and his family, and many of his friends being present, was earnestly cautioning people not to go to conventicles, and used this as an argument against it, *that they were baptized into the Church of England*. Mr. Henry's catholic charity could not well digest this

this monopolizing of the great ordinance of baptism, and thought it time to bear his testimony against such narrow principles, which he ever expressed his dislike of in all parties and persuasions. Accordingly he took the next opportunity that offered itself, publicly to baptize a child, and desired the congregation to bear witness, "that he did not baptize that child into the Church of England, nor into the Church of Scotland, nor into the Church of the Dissenters, nor into the Church at Broad-Oak, but into the visible Catholic Church of Jesus Christ." After this he baptized very many, and always publicly, though being in the country they were commonly carried a good way. The public administration of baptism he not only judged most agreeable to the nature and end of the ordinance, but found to be very profitable and edifying to the congregation; for he always took that occasion, not only to explain the nature of the ordinance, but affectionately and pathetically to excite people duly to improve their baptism. He usually received the child immediately out of the hands of the parent that presented it, and returned it into the same hands again, with this or the like charge, "Take this child, and bring it up for God." He used to say, that one advantage of public baptism was, that there were many to join in prayer for the child, in which therefore, and in blessing God for it, he was usually very large and particular. After he had baptized the child, before he gave it back to the parent, he commonly used these words; "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's Church, having washed it with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, in token that hereafter it shall not be ashamed to confess Christ crucified, and manfully to fight, &c."

He baptized many adult persons, that through the error of their parents, were not baptized in infancy, and some in public.

The solemn ordinance of *the Lord's Supper* he constantly celebrated in his congregation once a month, and always to a very considerable number of communicants. He did not usually observe public days of preparation for that ordinance, other than as they fell in course in the weekly lectures; nor did he ever appropriate any particular subject of his preaching to Sacrament-days, having a great felicity in adapting any profitable subject to such an occasion: and he would say, "what did the primitive Christians do, when they celebrated the Lord's Supper every Lord's day?" His administration of this ordinance was very solemn and affecting. He had been wont to go about in the congregation, and to deliver the elements with his own hand; but in his latter time, he delivered them only to those near him, and so they were handed from one to another, with the assistance of one who supplied the office of a deacon, as having also the custody and disposal of the money gathered for the use of the poor; Mr. Henry taking and carefully keeping a particular account of it.

Such as desired to be admitted to the Lord's Supper, he first discoursed with concerning their spiritual state; and how the case stood between God and their souls; not only to examine them but to instruct and teach them, and to encourage them as he saw occasion; gently leading those whom he discerned to be serious, though weak and timorous. He usually discoursed with them more than once, as finding precept upon precept, and line upon line necessary: but he did it with so much mildness, and humility, and tenderness, and endeavour to make the best of every body, as did
greatly

greatly affect and win upon many. He was herein like our great Master, who *can have compassion on the ignorant, and doth not despise the day of small things.*

But his admission of young people out of the rank of catechumens into that of communicants, had a peculiar solemnity in it. Such as he catechized, when they grew up to some years of discretion, if he observed them to be intelligent and serious, and to set their faces heaven-wards, he marked them out to be admitted to the Lord's Supper; and when he had a competent number of such, twelve or fifteen perhaps, or more, he ordered each of them to come to him severally, and discoursed with them of the things belonging to their everlasting peace; put it to their choice whom they would serve; and endeavoured to affect them with those things with which by their catechisms they had been made acquainted; drawing them with the cords of a man, and the bands of love, into the way which is called holy. For several Lord's Days he catechized them, particularly, in public, touching the Lord's Supper, and the duty of preparation for it, and their baptismal covenant, which in that ordinance they were to take upon themselves, and to make their own act and deed. Often telling them upon such occasions, that they were not to oblige themselves to any more than what they were already obliged to by their baptism, only to bind themselves faster to it. Then he appointed a day in the week before the ordinance; when in a solemn assembly on purpose, he prayed for them, and preached a sermon to them, proper to their age and circumstances; and so the following Sabbath they were all received together to the Lord's Supper. This he looked upon as the right *confirmation*, or transition into the state of

adult church-membership. The more solemn our covenanting with God is, the more deep and the more durable the impressions are likely to be. He hath recorded it in his Diary, upon one of these occasions, as his heart's desire and prayer for those who were thus admitted; "That it might be as the day of their espousals to the Lord Jesus, and that they might each of them have a wedding garment."

3. The *discipline* he observed in his congregation was, not such as he could have wished for, but the best he could get, considering what a scattered flock he had, which was his trouble, but it could not be helped. He would sometimes apply to the circumstances he was in, that of Moses, Deut. xii. 8, 9. However, I see not but the end was effectually attained by the methods he took, though there wanted the formality of officers and church-meetings, for the purpose. If he heard of any that walked disorderly, he sent for them, and re-proved them, gently or sharply, as he saw the case required. If the sin had scandal in it, he suspended them from the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, till they gave some tokens of their repentance and reformation. And where the offence was public and gross, his judgment was, that some public satisfaction should be made to the congregation, before re-admission. But whatever offence did happen, or breaches of the christian peace, Mr. Henry's peculiar excellency lay in restoring with the spirit of meekness; which, with his great prudence and love, and condescension, did so much command the respects of his people, and win upon them, that there was a universal satisfaction in all his management; and it may truly be said of him, as it was of David, (2 Sam. iii. 36.) that *whatsoever he did pleased all the people.* And it is an instance
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and evidence, that those ministers who will rule by love and meekness, need no laws or canons to rule by, other than those of the holy Scripture. How forcible are right words." (Job vi. 25.)

4. He was very strict and very serious in observing the *public fasts* appointed by authority, and called them a delight. He had seldom any one to assist him in carrying on the duties of those days, but performed the service of them himself alone. He began at nine of the clock, or quickly after, and never stirred out of the pulpit till about four in the afternoon, spending all that time in praying and expounding, and singing, and preaching, to the admiration of all that heard him, who were generally more on such days than usual. And he was sometimes observed to be more warm and lively towards the latter end of the duties of a fast-day, than at the beginning; as if the spirit were most willing and enlarged when the flesh was most weak. In all his performances on public fast-days, he did, *hoc agere*, attend to that which was the proper work of the day; every thing is beautiful in its season. His prayers and pleadings with God on those days, were especially for national mercies, and the pardon of national sins. How excellently did he order the cause before God, and fill his mouth with arguments in his large and particular intercessions for the land, for the king, the government, the army, the navy, the church, the French Protestants, &c. He was another Jacob, a wrestler, an Israel, a prince with God. Before a fast-day he would be more than ordinarily inquisitive concerning the state of public affairs, as Nehemiah was, (Neh. i. 2.) that he might know the better how to order his prayers and preaching: for on such a day (he hath sometimes said) "as good say nothing, as nothing to the purpose." He made it

his business on fast-days, to shew people their transgressions, especially the house of Jacob their sins. "It is most proper" (said he) "to preach of Christ on Lord's Days, to preach of sin on fast-days, and to preach duty on both." He went over the third chapter of the Revelation, in the fast sermons of two years. Another year he preached over the particulars of that charge, Zeph. iii. 2. Hypocrisy in hearers, and flattery in preachers (as he would sometimes say) is bad at any time, but it is especially abominable upon a day of humiliation.

5. He preached a great many *lectures* in the country about, some *stated*, some *occasional*, in supplying of which he was very indefatigable. He hath sometimes preached a lecture, ridden eight or nine miles, and preached another, and the next day two more. To quicken himself to diligence he would often say, "our opportunities are passing away, and we must work while it is day, for the night cometh." Once having very wet and foul weather to go through to preach a lecture, he said, he comforted himself with two Scriptures; one was 2 Tim. ii. 3. *Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.* The other (because he exposed and hazarded his health, for which some blamed him) was 2 Sam. vi. 21. *It was before the Lord.* He took all occasions in his lectures abroad, to possess the minds of people with sober and moderate principles, and to stir them up to the serious regard of those things wherein we are all agreed. "We are met here together" (said he once in an exhortation, with which he often began at his lecture) "not because we think ourselves better than others, but because we desire to be better than we are."

He

He was very happy in the choice of his subjects for his week-day lectures. At one which was *stated*, he preached against errors *in general*, from James i. 16. *Do not err my beloved brethren; particularly* from divers other Scriptures he shewed, that we must not err, concerning God and Christ, and the Spirit; concerning sin and repentance, faith and good works; concerning God's ordinances; concerning grace and peace, and afflictions and prosperity, and the things of the life to come. At the monthly lectures at his own house, he chose to preach upon the four last things, Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell, in many particulars, but commonly a new text for every sermon. When he had in many sermons finished the first of the four, one that used to hear him sometimes, enquiring of his progress in his subjects, asked him if he had done with death? meaning that subject concerning death; to which he pleasantly replied, "No, I have not done with him yet; I must have another turn with him, and he will give me a fall; but I hope to have the victory at last." He would sometimes remove the lectures in the country from one place to another, for the benefit of those that could not travel. Once having adjourned a lecture to a new place, he began it there with a sermon on Acts xvii. 6. *These men that have turned the world upside down, are come hither also*; in which he shewed how false the charge is as they meant it; for religion doth not disturb the peace of families or societies, doth not cause any disorder or unquietness, &c. And yet, that in another sense there is a great truth in it; that when the Gospel comes in power to any soul, it *turns the world upside down* in that soul; such is the change it makes there.

All

All this he did *gratis*, and without *being burthensome to any*; nay, he was best pleased, when at the places where he preached, nothing was got for his entertainment, but he came home (though some miles) fasting; as in other places it was a trouble to him to see his friends careful about much serving, though it was out of their respect to him.

Lastly, as he was an excellent preacher himself, so he was an exemplary *hearer of the word*, when others preached, though every way his inferiors, so reverent, serious, and attentive was he in hearing, and so observant of what was spoken. I have heard him tell, that he knew one (and I suppose it was as Paul knew a man in Christ) who could truly say, to the glory of God, that for forty years he had never slept at a sermon. He was diligent also to improve what he heard afterwards by meditation, repetition, prayer and discourse; and he was a very great encourager of young ministers that were humble and serious, though their abilities and performances were but mean. He hath noted in his Diary, (as that which affected him) this saying of a godly man, a hearer of his, "I find it easier to go six miles to hear a sermon, than to spend one quarter of an hour in meditating and praying over it in secret, (as I should) when I come home."

As to the circumstances of his family in these last nine years of his life, they were somewhat different from what they had been; but the same candle of God which had shined upon his Tabernacle continued still to do so. In the years 1687, and 1688, he married all his five children, the three eldest in four months time, in the year 1687, and the other two in a year and a half after; so many *swarms* (as he used to call them) *out of his*
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hive; and all not only with his full consent, but to his abundant comfort and satisfaction. He would say, he thought it the duty of parents to study to oblige their children in that affair. And though never could children be more easy and at rest in a father's house than his were, yet he would sometimes say concerning them, as Naomi to Ruth, (Ruth iii. 1.) *Shall I not seek rest for thee?* Two advices he used to give, both to his children and others, in their choice of that relation: one was, keep within the bounds of profession, such as one may charitably hope is from a good principle. The other was, look at suitableness, in age, quality, education, temper, &c. He used to observe from Gen. ii. 18. *I will make him a help meet for him*; that where there is not meetness, there will not be much help. And he would commonly say to his children, with reference to that choice, "Please God and please yourselves, and you shall never displease me;" and greatly blamed those parents, who conclude matches for their children, and do not ask counsel at their mouth. He never aimed at great things in the world for his children, but sought for them in the first place the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof. He used to mention sometimes the saying of a pious gentlewoman, that had many daughters: "The care of most people, is how to get good husbands for their daughters; but my care is to fit my daughters to be good wives, and then let God provide for them." In this, as in other things, Mr. Henry steered by that principle, *That a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth*. And it pleased God so to order it, that all his children were disposed of, into circumstances very agreeable and comfortable, both for *life* and *godliness*. He was greatly affected with the goodness of
God

God to him herein, without any forecast or contrivance of his own. "The country" (saith he, in his Diary) "takes notice of it, and what then shall I render? Surely this is a token for good."

All his four daughters were married at Whitewell Chapel, and he preached a wedding sermon for each of them, in his own family after. He would often tell his friends, "That those who desire, in the married condition, to live in the favour of God, must enter upon that condition in the fear of God. For it is an ill omen to stumble at the threshold; and an error in the first concoction, is seldom amended in the second."

While he lived, he had much comfort in all his children and their yoke-fellows, and somewhat the more, that by the Divine Providence, four of the five families which branched out of his, were settled in Chester.

His youngest daughter was married April 26, 1688, the same day of the year (as he observes in his Diary) and the same day of the week, and in the same place that he was married to his dear wife, twenty-eight years before; upon which this is his remark, "I cannot desire for them, that they should receive more from God than we have received, in that relation and condition; but I would desire, and do desire, that they may do more for God in it than we have done." His usual compliment to his new-married friends, was, "others wish you all happiness, I wish you all holiness, and then there is no doubt but you will have all happiness."

When the marriage of the last of his daughters was about to be concluded on, he thus writes; "But is Joseph gone, and Simeon gone, and must Benjamin go also? We will not say that all these things are against us, but for us. If we must be
thus

thus in this merciful way bereaved of our children, let us be bereaved; and God turn it for good to them, as we know he will if they love and fear his name." And when, sometime after she was married, he parted with her to the house of her husband, he thus writes; "We have sent her away, not as Laban said he would have sent his daughters away, *with mirth, and with songs, with tabret, and with harp*, but with prayers and tears, and hearty good wishes: "And now" (saith he in his Diary) "we are alone again, as we were in our beginning; God be better to us than twenty children." Upon the same occasion he thus writes to a dear relation: "We are now left as we were, one and one, and yet but one one; the Lord, I trust, that has brought us thus far, will enable us to finish well; and then all will be well, and not till then."

That which he often mentioned, as the matter of his great comfort that it was so, and his desire that it might continue so, was, the love and unity that was among his children; and that (as he writes) the transplanting of them into new relations, had not lessened that love, but rather increased it; for this he often gave thanks to the God of love; noting from Job i. 4, that the childrens' love to one another is the parents' comfort and joy. In his last will and testament, this is the prayer which he puts up for his children, "That the Lord would build them up in holiness, and continue them still in brotherly love, as a bundle of arrows which cannot be broken."

When his children were removed from him, he was a daily intercessor at the throne of grace, for them and their families. Still the burnt-offerings were offered according to the number of them all. He used to say, "Surely the children of so many prayers

prayers will not miscarry." Their particular circumstances of affliction and danger, were sure to be mentioned by him with suitable petitions. The greatest affliction he saw in his family, was the death of his dear daughter-in-law, Catharine, the only daughter of Samuel Hardware, Esq. who, about a year and a half after she was transplanted into his family (to which she was the greatest comfort and ornament imaginable) died of the small-pox in child-bed, upon the thanksgiving-day for king William's coming in. She died but a few weeks after Mr. Henry had married the last of his daughters, upon which marriage she had said, "Now we have a full lease, God only knows which life will drop first." She comforted herself in the extremity of her illness with this word, "Well, when I come to Heaven, I shall see that I could not have been without this affliction." She had been for some time before under some fears as to her spiritual state, but the clouds were through grace dispelled, and she finished her course with joy, and a cheerful expectation of the glory to be revealed. When she lay ill, Mr. Henry (being in fear not only for her that was ill, but for the rest of his children in Chester, who had none of them past the pikes of that perilous distemper) wrote thus to his son, on the evening of the Lord's Day, "I have just done the public work of this day, wherein, before many scores of witnesses, many of whom I dare say, are no little concerned for you, I have absolutely, freely, and unreservedly given you all up to the good will and pleasure of our heavenly father, waiting what he will do with us, for good I am sure we have received, and shall we not receive evil also?" He preached at Chester, upon occasion of that sad breach in his family, on Job x. 3. *Shew me wherefore thou contendest with me.*

When

When two of his children lay ill, and in perilous circumstances, after he had been wrestling with God in prayer for them, he wrote thus in his Diary: "If the Lord will be pleased to grant me my request this time concerning my children, I will not say as the beggars at our door use to do, *I will never ask any thing of him again*; but on the contrary, he shall hear oftener from me than ever; and I will love God the better, and love prayer the better, as long as I live." He used to say, "Tradesmen take it ill, if those that are in their books, go to another shop; while we are so much indebted to God for past mercies, we are bound to attend him for further mercies."

As he was an intercessor for his children at the throne of grace, so he was upon all occasions a remembrancer to them, both by word and letter, to quicken them to that which is good. How often did he inculcate this upon them; "Love one another, and the God of love and peace will be with you. Do all you can, while you are together, to help one another to Heaven, that you may be together there, for ever, and with the Lord." When the families of his children were in health and peace, the candle of God shining upon their tabernacles, he wrote thus to them; "It was one of Job's comforts in his prosperity, that his children loved one another, and feasted together: the same is ours in you, which God continue. But you will not be offended, if we pray that you may none of you *curse God in your hearts*. Remember, the wheel is always in motion, and the spoke that is uppermost will be under, and therefore mix tremblings always with your joy."

He much rejoiced in the visits of his children, and made that as other things, which were the matter of his rejoicing, the matter of his thanksgiving.

His

His usual saying at parting, was, "This is not the world we are to be together in, and it is well it is not, but there is such a world before us:" and his usual prayer was, "That our next meeting might be either in heaven, or further on in our way towards it."

He had in eight years time twenty-four grandchildren born, some by each of his children; concerning whom he would often bless God, that they were all the sealed ones of the God of heaven, and enrolled among his Lambs. On the birth of his second grand-child, at a troublesome time as to public affairs, he thus writes, "I have now seen my children's children, let me also see peace upon Israel; and then I will say, Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart." Some were much affected with it, when he baptized two of his grand-children together at Chester, publicly, and preached on Gen. xxxiii. 5, *They are the children which God hath graciously given thy servant.* He observed in what a savoury, pious, gracious manner Jacob speaks. He had spoken good sense if he had only said, *they are my children*, but then he had not spoken like Jacob, like one that had so lately seen the face of God. Though our speech be not always *of* grace, yet it must be always *with* grace, grace poured into the lips. There is a kind of language, the air of which speaks it the *language of Canaan*: Christians should speak like Christians.

It was not long after his children were married from him, but his house was filled again with the children of several of his friends, whom he was, by much importunity, persuaded to take to table with him. All that knew him, thought it a thousand pities, that such a master of a family should have but a small family, and should not have many
to

to sit down under his shadow. He was first almost necessitated to it, by the death of his dear friend and kinsman, Mr. Benyon, of Ash, who left his children to his care. Some he took *gratis*, or for small considerations; and when by reason of the advances of age he could not go about so much as he had done, doing good, he laid out himself to do the more at home. He kept a teacher to attend their school-learning; and they had the benefit, not only of his inspection in that, but (which was much more) his family-worship, Sabbath-instructions, catechizing, and daily converse, in which his tongue was as choice silver, and his lips fed many. Nothing but the hopes of doing some good to the rising generation could have prevailed with him to take this trouble upon him. He would often say, "We have a busy house, but there is a rest remaining. We must be doing something in the world while we are in it; but this fashion will not last long, methinks I see it passing away."

Sometimes he had such with him as had gone through their course of university learning, at private academies, and desired to spend some time in his family, before their entrance upon the ministry, that they might have the benefit, not only of his public and family instructions, but of his learned and pious converse, in which, as he was thoroughly furnished for every good word and work, so he was very free and communicative. The great thing which he used to press upon those who intended the ministry, was to study the Scriptures, and make them familiar. *Bonus textuarius est bonus theologus*, was a maxim he often minded them of. For this purpose he recommended to them the study of the Hebrew, that they might be able to search the Scriptures in the original. He also advised them to the use of an interleaved Bible, wherein to insert

sert such expositions and observations, as occur occasionally in sermons or other books; which he would say, are more happy, and considerable sometimes, than those that are found in the professed commentators. When some young men desired the happiness of coming into his family, he would tell them, "You come to me as Naaman did to Elisha, expecting that I should do this and the other for you, and alas, I can but say as he did, *Go, wash in Jordan*; go, study the Scriptures. I profess to teach no other learning but Scripture-learning." It was but a little before he died, that in reading Isaiah 50, he observed from verse 4, *The Lord God hath given me the tongue of the learned*, &c. that the true learning of a Gospel Minister consists not in being able to talk Latin fluently, and to dispute in philosophy, but in being able to speak a word in season to weary souls. He that knows how to do that well, is a learned minister.

CHAP. IX.

His Sickness, Death, and Burial.

IN the time of his health, he made death very familiar to himself, by frequent and pleasing thoughts and meditations of it; and endeavoured to make it so to his friends, by speaking often of it. His letters and discourses had still something or other which spoke his constant expectations of death; thus did he learn to die daily: and it is hard to say, whether it was more easy to him to

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speaking, or uneasy to his friends, to hear him speak of leaving the world. This reminds me of a passage I was told by a worthy Scotch minister, Mr. Patrick Adair, that visiting the famous Mr. Durham, of Glasgow, in his last sickness, which was long and lingering, he said to him, "Sir, I hope you have so set all in order, that you have nothing else to do but to die." "I bless God," said Mr. Durham, "I have not had that to do neither these many years." Such is the comfort of dying daily, when we come to die indeed.

Mr. Henry's constitution was but tender, and yet by the blessing of God upon his great temperance, and care of his diet, and moderate exercise by walking in the air, he did for many years enjoy a good measure of health, which he used to call *the sugar that sweetens all temporal mercies*, for which therefore we ought to be very thankful, and of which we ought to be very careful. He had sometimes violent fits of the cholic, which would be very afflictive for the time. Towards his latter end he was distressed sometimes with a pain, which his doctor thought might arise from a stone in his kidneys. Being once upon the recovery from an ill fit of that pain, he said to one of his friends, that asked him how he did, "he hoped, by the grace of God, he should now be able to give one blow more to the devil's kingdom;" and often professed, "he did not desire to live a day longer than he might do God some service." He said to another, when he perceived himself recovering, "Well, I thought I had been putting into the harbour, but find I must to sea again."

He was sometimes suddenly taken with fainting fits, which when he recovered from, he would say, "dying is but a little more."

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When he was in the sixty-third year of his age, which is commonly called the grand climacteric, and hath been to many *the dying year*, and was so to his father, he numbered the days of it, from August 24, 1693, to August 24, 1694, when he finished it: and when he concluded it, he thus wrote in his diary, “This day finisheth my commonly *dying year*, which I have numbered the days of; and should now apply my heart more than ever to heavenly wisdom.” He was much pleased with that expression of our English Liturgy in the office of burial, and frequently used it; *In the midst of life we are in death.*

The infirmities of age, when they grew upon him, did very little abate his vigour and liveliness in preaching, but he seemed even to renew his youth as the eagle's; as those that are *planted in the house of the Lord*, who *still bring forth fruit in old age*; not so much to shew that they are upright, as *to shew that the Lord is upright*, (Psalm xcii. 14, 15.) But in his latter years, travelling was very troublesome to him; and he would say, as Mr. Dod used to do, that when he thought to shake himself as at other times, he found his hair was cut. His sense of this led him to preach an occasional sermon not long before he died, on John xxi. 18, *When thou wast young thou girdedst thyself, &c.* Another occasional sermon he preached when he was old, for his own comfort, and the comfort of his aged friends, on Psalm lxxi. 17, 18, *O God, thou hast taught me from my youth, &c.* He observed there, that it is a blessed thing to be taught of God from our youth; and those that have been taught of God from their youth, ought to declare his wondrous works all their days after. And those that have been taught of God from their youth, and have all their days declared his

his wonderful works, may comfortably expect, that when they are old he will not forsake them. Christ is a master that doth not use to cast off his old servants.

For some years before he died, he used to complain of an habitual weariness, contracted, he thought, by his standing to preach, sometimes very uneasily, and in inconvenient places, immediately after riding. He would say, every minister was not cut out for an itinerant; and sometimes the manifest attention and affection of people in hearing, enlarged him both in length and fervency, somewhat more than his strength could well bear. It was not many months before he died, that he wrote thus to a dear relation, who enquired solicitously concerning his health; "I am always habitually weary, and expect no other till I lie down in the bed of spices. And (blessed be God) so the grave is to all the saints, since he lay in it who is the rose of Sharon, and the lilly of the vallies." When some of his friends persuaded him to spare himself, he would say, "It is time enough to rest when I am in the grave: what were candles made for, but to burn?"

It doth not appear that he had any particular presages of his death; but many instances there were of his actual gracious expectation of it, somewhat more than ordinary, for some time before. The last visit he made to his children in Chester, was in July 1695, almost a year before he died, when he spent a Lord's day there, and preached on the last verse of the Epistle to Philemon, *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit.* By grace he understood not so much the good will of God towards us, as the good work of God in us, called the grace of Christ, both because he is the author and finisher of it, and because he is the

pattern and samplar of it. Now the choicest gift we can ask of God for our friend is, that this grace of our Lord Jesus Christ may be with their spirit. This is the one thing needful, the better part, the root of the matter, the whole of man, the principal thing, the more excellent way, a blessing indeed, and the thing that accompanies salvation. The grace of Christ in the spirit, enlightens and enlivens the spirit, softens and subdues the spirit, purifies and preserves the spirit, greatens and guides the spirit, sweetens and strengthens the spirit, and therefore what can be more desirable? A spirit without the grace of Christ, is a field without a fence, a fool without understanding; it is a horse without a bridle, and a house without furniture; it is a ship without tackle, and a soldier without armour; it is a cloud without rain, and a carcase without a soul; it is a tree without fruit, and a traveller without a guide. How earnest therefore should we be in praying to God for grace, both for ourselves and for our relations. He had intended to preach upon that text, when he was at Chester the year before, but was then prevented, by a particular sad occasion, which obliged him to a funeral sermon, divine providence reserving that benediction (which his heart was much upon) for his valediction. The Thursday following being kept as a fast in his son's congregation at Chester, he preached on Luke xix. 41, *He beheld the city, and wept over it*; which proved his farewell to the town, as the former was his farewell to his friends and relations in it.

It was not many weeks before he died, that he wrote thus to one of his children; "We are well here, thanks be to God, and are glad to hear that you and yours are well also. God in mercy continue it. But why should we be well always?"

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Do we deserve it? Are there no mixtures in our obedience? Are there any persons or families, at whose door sickness and death never knocked? Must the earth be forsaken for us, or the rock removed out of its place? Is it not enough that we be dealt with according to the manner of men? And that we have a promise, that it shall end well, everlastingly well!"

To another of his children, about the same time, he writes, "We are sensible that we decline apace, but the best of it is, that as time goes, eternity comes; and we are in good hope, through grace, that it will be a comfortable eternity."

It was in April, 1696, a few weeks before he died, that his son's father-in-law, Robert Warburton, esq. was gathered to his grave in peace, in a good old age. Upon the tidings of whose death, Mr. Henry wrote thus to his son; "Your fathers, where are they? Your father-in-law gone, and your own father going; but you have a God-father that lives for ever." He was wont sometimes to subscribe his letters, "Your ever-loving, but not ever-living father."

It was not a month before he died, that in a letter to his very dear and worthy friend and brother, Mr. Tallents, of Shrewsbury, he had this passage; "Methinks it is strange, that it should be your lot and mine, to abide so long on earth by the stuff, when so many of our friends are dividing the spoil above: but God will have it so; and to be willing to live in obedience to his holy will, is as true an act of grace, as to be willing to die when he calls, especially when life is labour and sorrow. But when it is labour and joy, service to his name, and some measure of success and comfort in serving him; when it is to stop a gap, and stem a tide, it is to be rejoiced in; it is heaven upon earth: nay,

one would think, by the Psalmist's oft repeated plea, (Psalm vi. and xxx. and lxxxviii. and cxv. and cxviii.) that it were better than to be in heaven itself, and can that be?"

A little before his sickness and death, being summer time, he had several of his children, and his children's children, about him, at Broad-Oak, with whom he was much refreshed, and very cheerful; but ever and anon spoke of the *fashion* he was in, as passing away; and often told them, he should be there but a while to bid them welcome. And he was observed frequently in prayer, to beg of God, that he would make us ready for that which would come certainly, and might come suddenly. One asking him how he did, he answered, "I find the chips fly off apace, the tree will be down shortly."

The last time he administered the Lord's Supper, a fortnight before he died, he closed the administration with that Scripture, 1 John iii. 2, *It doth not yet appear what we shall be; not yet, but it will shortly.*

The Sabbath but one before he died, being in the course of his exposition come to that difficult part of Scripture, the 40th of Ezekiel, and the following chapters; he said he would endeavour to explain those prophecies to them; and added, *If I do not do it now, I never shall*: and he observed, that the only prophetic sermon which our Lord Jesus preached, was but a few days before he died. This many of his hearers not only reflected upon afterwards, but took notice of at that time with a concern, as having something in it more than ordinary.

On the Lord's day, June 21, 1696, he went through the work of the day with his usual vigour and liveliness. He was then preaching over the
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first chapter of St. Peter's second Epistle, and was that day on those words, *Add to your faith virtue*, (ver. 5.) He took virtue for Christian courage and resolution in the exercise of faith; and the last thing he mentioned, in which Christians have need of courage, is in dying; for (as he was often used to say) it is a serious thing to die, and to die is a work by itself. That day he gave notice, both morning and afternoon, with much affection and enlargement, of the public fast, which was appointed by authority the Friday following, June 26, pressing his hearers, as he used to do upon such occasions, to come in a prepared frame, to the solemn services of that day.

The Tuesday following, June 23, he rose at six o'clock, according to his custom, after a better night's sleep than ordinary, and in wonted health. Between seven and eight o'clock he performed family-worship, according to the usual manner. He expounded very largely the former half of the 104th Psalm, and sung it; but he was somewhat shorter in prayer than he used to be, being then (as it was thought) taken ill. *Blessed is that servant, whom his Lord, when he comes, shall find so doing.* Immediately after prayer he retired to his chamber, not saying any thing of his illness, but was soon after found upon his bed in great extremity of pain, in his back, breast, and bowels; it seemed to be a complicated fit of the stone and cholic together, in very great extremity. The means that had been used to give him relief in his illness, were altogether ineffectual: he had not the least intermission or remission of pain, neither up nor in bed, but in a continual toss. He had said sometimes, that "God's Israel may find Jordan rough; but there is no remedy, they *must* through it to Canaan;" and would tell of a good man who
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used to say, "He was not so much afraid of death as of dying." We know they are not the godly people, part of the description of whose condition it is, that there are no bands in their death, and yet their end is peace, and their death gain, and they have hope in it.

In this extremity he was still looking up to God, and calling upon him, who is a present help in the needful hour. When the exquisiteness of his pain forced groans and complaints from him, he would presently correct himself with a patient and quiet submission to the hand of his heavenly Father, and a cheerful acquiescence in his heavenly will. "I am ashamed," saith he, "of these groans, I want virtue. O for virtue now when I have need of it," (referring to his subject the Lord's day before.) "Forgive me that I groan thus, and I will endeavour to silence them; but indeed my stroke is heavier than my groaning." It is true what Mr. Baxter said in his pain, "there is no disputing against sense." It was his trouble, as it was Mr. Baxter's, that by reason of his bodily pain, he could not express his inward comfort; however that was it, with which God graciously strengthened him in his soul. He said to those about him, they must remember what instructions and counsels he had given them when he was in health, for now he could say but little to them, only to refer them to what he had said, as that which he would live and die by.

It was two or three hours after he was taken ill, before he would suffer a messenger to be sent to Chester for his son, and for the doctor, saying, he should either be better or dead before they could come; but at last he said, as the prophet did to his importunate friends, *send*. About eight o'clock that evening they came, and found him in the same extremity

extremity of pain, which he had been in all day. And nature, being before spent with his constant and indefatigable labours in the work of the Lord, now sunk, and did perfectly succumb under its burthen, and was quite disabled to grapple with so many hours incessant pain. What further means were then used, proved fruitless, and did not answer the intention. He apprehended himself going apace, and said to his son when he came in, "O, son, you are welcome to a dying father: I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." His pain continued very acute, but he had peace within. "I am tormented," said he, once, "but, blessed be God, not in this flame:" and soon after, "I am all on fire," (when at the same time his extreme parts were cold) but he presently added, "blessed be God, it is not the fire of hell." To some of his next neighbours who came in to see him, (for those at a distance had not notice of his illness) he said, "O, make sure work for your souls, by getting an interest in Christ while you are in health, for if I had that work to do now, what would become of me? But I bless God I am satisfied." It was a caution he was often wont to give; "See to it, that your work be not undone, when your time is done; lest you be undone for ever."

Towards ten or eleven o'clock that night, his pulse and sight began to fail: of the latter he himself took notice, and inferred from it the near approach of his dissolution. He took an affectionate farewell of his dear yoke-fellow, with a thousand thanks for all her love and care, and tenderness; left a blessing for all his dear children, and their dear yoke-fellows and little ones, that were absent. He said to his son, who sat under his head, "Son, the Lord bless you, and grant that you may do worthily

worthily in your generation, and be more serviceable to the church of God than I have been;" such was his great humility to the last. And when his son replied, "O, sir, pray for me that I may but tread in your steps;" he answered, "Yea, follow peace and holiness, and let them say what they will——" More he would have said to bear his dying testimony to the way in which he had walked, but nature was spent, and he had not strength to express it.

His understanding and speech continued almost to the last breath, and he was still in his dying agonies calling upon God, and committing himself to him. One of the last words he said, when he found himself just ready to depart, was, *O death, where is thy ——*; with that his speech faltered, and within a few minutes (after about sixteen hours illness) he quietly breathed out his precious soul, into the embraces of his dear Redeemer, whom he had trusted, and faithfully served in the work of the ministry, about forty-three years. He departed betwixt twelve and one o'clock in the morning of June 24, Midsummer-day, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Happy, thrice happy he, to whom such a sudden change was no surprize, and who could triumph over death as an unstrung, disarmed enemy, even when he made so fierce an onset. He had often spoke of it as his desire, that if it were the will of God, he might not outlive his usefulness; and it pleased God to grant him his desire, and give him a short passage from the pulpit to the kingdom, from the height of his usefulness, to receive the recompence of reward. So was it ordered by him, in whose hands our times are.

After the account we have given of his great usefulness, it is easy to imagine what sorrow and mourning

mourning there was among his friends, when they heard that the Lord had taken away their master from their head. One that lived so much desired, could not but die as much lamented. The surprise of the stroke put people into a perfect astonishment; and many said, the Lord removed him so suddenly, because he would not deny the many prayers that would have been put up for his recovery, had it been known that he was in peril. One thing that aggravated this severe dispensation, and made it in the apprehension of many look the more dismal, was, that this powerful intercessor was taken away just before a fast-day, when he would have been wrestling mightily with God for mercy for the land. However, it proved a fast-day indeed, and a day of humiliation to that congregation, to whom an empty pulpit was an awakening sermon. The Broad-Oak was then like that under which Rebekah's nurse was buried, (Gen. xxxv. 8.) *allon-bacuth*, the oak of weeping. They who had many a time sitten with dry eyes, under melting ordinances, could not sit so under such a melting providence, by which the Lord God called so loudly to *weeping and to mourning, and to girding with sackcloth*. But because Mr. Henry had been wont to give it for a rule, that *weeping must not hinder sowing*, a mite was cast into the treasury of the nation's prayers, and a word spoken to bring the work of the day and the event of the day together, from 2 Kings xiii. 20.

The day following, being Saturday, June 27, the earthen vessel, in which this treasure had been lodged, was laid up in the grave in Whitchurch church, attended thither with a very great company of true mourners, all the country round; many from Chester and Shrewsbury, and the towns about, came to do him honour at his death: and besides
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the floods of tears that were shed, there were abundance of testimonies given to him, by persons of all sorts, like that to Jehoadah, (2 Chron. xxiv. 16,) that he was one *that had done good in Israel*. And there were those who said, "he was a man that nobody did or could speak evil of, except for his nonconformity." He was used to say to his relations, "when I am dead make little ado about me, a few will serve to bring me to my grave:" but his mind could not be observed in that; it was impossible such a burning and shining light could be extinguished, but there must be a universal notice taken of it. Multitudes came unsought unto, *not to fill their eyes*, (as Mr. Vines expreseth it) *but to empty them*; nor was there any other noise there, but that of general lamentation.

That morning, before the removal of the corpse, a most affectionate sermon was preached in Mr. Henry's meeting-place, by his dear and worthy friend Mr. Tallents, of Shrewsbury, who was eleven years older than he, and through God's goodness still survives him. He was willing to take that opportunity, to testify the great love and honour that he had for Mr. Henry, whom he called a friend that is nearer than a brother. His text was Rom. viii. 23, *And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption; to wit, the redemption of our body*. In his application, he shewed excellently, and with much affection, how "the consideration of the spirit and life of this eminent servant of God, would greatly lead us to believe on Christ, and to have the spirit of Christ, and live after it; and to suffer with Christ, and to groan for our adoption." Several things were hinted concerning him, which have been mentioned already in this narrative, and
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a very honourable testimony borne to him. From a long acquaintance with him, he witnessed concerning him, to those who knew his record to be true, that he was humble and meek, kind and peaceable, wise and charitable, and one in whom the fruits of the Spirit were eminently: that he was a friend and a counsellor, and a father to many; that his expounding and preaching was plain and pleasant, warm and savoury, full, and such as few could reach, and greatly blessed by God; and that in it he laboured more abundantly than any. And after a great encomium of him, it was excellently observed, and must be mentioned here, as that which was highly agreeable to Mr. Henry's spirit, and his expressions upon all occasions; that it was not his own righteousness that saved him, nor his own strength that quickened and upheld him, but Christ's righteousness and Christ's strength; for to him *to live was Christ*: and in all his discourses, sermons, and letters, he was very careful to ascribe the honour of all to Christ, and to make Christ his all in all. He concluded with some words of seasonable advice to those of that society and neighbourhood.

1. "Give thanks to God that ever you had him or saw him, and that you had him so long, above thirty years in this place. Do not many of you owe even your very souls to him under God? While you mourn, give thanks to God that you ever knew him: old and great mercies must be thankfully remembered.

2. "Rejoice in the glory that he now enjoys: *weep not for him, but weep for yourselves*: it was the text on which he preached, not much above a year ago, at the funeral of that intelligent, holy, useful man, Mr. William Lawrence, of Wem. The primitive Christians buried their saints with hymns and

and psalms of joy. Chrysostom on the Hebrews saith, we are to glorify God, and give thanks to him, that he hath crowned the deceased, and freed them from their labours; and chides those that mourned and howled. And the days of their death were called *natalitia martyrum et sanctorum*, the birth-days of the saints and martyrs. And Hierom in his Epitaph on holy Paula (and in the lives of other holy persons, writ by him) saith, that at her funeral no shrieks were heard, but multitudes of psalms and hymns were sung in divers languages.

3. "Bewail the loss, the general loss, and yours in particular, yet so as to have hope in God. I need not tell you how great your loss is, you feel it more than I am able to express. If any rejoice that he is gone, because he tormented them, say as the Church, (Mic. vii. 8, 9.)

4. "Seek out for a supply; do not mourn and sit still, but up and be doing in your places; you have had a cheap Gospel hitherto; God sent you one that could preach freely, and which is more, that would do so too; one that sought not yours, but you; and now God will see what you will do for yourselves, that now the shepherd is smitten, the sheep may not be scattered. Pray to God to raise up others like him, and graciously to give you one.

5. "Take heed of liking no preacher, now he is gone. This is a usual fault among many that have had excellent preachers, no body can please them. But God may bless weaker means, and make your souls live and thrive under them.

6. "Hold fast that which you have; it is the advice given to Philadelphia, the best of the churches, Rev. iii. 11. Keep that good thing which is committed to you, that savoriness of heart, that love to Christ and to saints, to all saints, that knowledge
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of the truth. Keep to his sober principles. Remember his dying counsel, *follow peace and holiness*; have these things always in remembrance. Take heed of falling off, take heed of falling away; the world will draw you, and Satan will tempt you, and your own busy hearts will be apt to betray you; but go on humbly and honestly in the strength of Christ, and fear not. Be not like those Jews that turned aside, when John Baptist was dead, (John v. 35.) The Lord keep you from being such, and give you to go on to his heavenly kingdom."

It would have swelled this book too much, if we inserted the sermon at large, and therefore we forbear it.

The next day being Lord's Day, Mr. Owen, of Oswestry, preached a most excellent sermon in the morning, agreeable to that sad occasion, upon that pathetical farewell which Elisha gave to Elijah, (2 Kings ii. 12.) *My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof, and he saw him no more; and he took hold of his own clothes, and rent them.* He observed, 1. "That faithful ministers are the fathers of a people, and their chariots and horsemen; the former a metaphor taken from a family, a peaceable society; the latter from an army, a warlike body. Fathers to provide good things, chariots and horsemen to protect from evil things. 2. There is a time when we shall see these fathers, these chariots and horsemen of Israel no more. Their time is appointed, their work cut out for them, and when those are finished they are removed. 3. When God takes away our fathers, the chariots of our Israel, and the horsemen thereof, it is a proper season for mourning and lamentation." Under this he did most affectionately excite us, 1. "To be sensible of our loss, which is better felt than expressed. It is the loss of one that was a father;

father; a father to his family, to whom he was constant, in unfolding the holy oracles; a father to the prophets, for counsel, and conduct, and example; the sons of the prophets never conversed with him, but they were, or might have been the better for him; a father to his congregation, now left orphans. It is the loss of one of *the chariots and horsemen of our Israel*; so eminent was he for prevalency in prayer, courage in duty, conduct in affairs, constancy in religion, and a firm adherence to his ministerial vows, and lastly, a contempt of the world, in which, as he that warreth, he did not entangle himself. 2. To be sensible of those sins, which have provoked God to deprive us of him. Barrenness and unfruitfulness under his ministry; it is for this that God hath a controversy with us. 3. To bless God that we enjoyed him so long; eaten bread must not be forgotten. 4. To be followers of him, as he was of Christ. He was a pattern for ministers, excelling in the knowledge of the Scriptures, which made this man of God perfect, and industrious to advance the honour of Jesus Christ, whom he made the *alpha* and *omega* of his religion; not addicted to controversies, but walking in the good old way, unwearied in the work of God; it was the delight of his heart, to be laying out himself for the good of souls. Exemplary for humility and low thoughts of himself, and his own performances, for meekness and readiness to forgive injuries, for candour in speaking of others, and their words and actions, on which he ever put the best construction, and was never apt to speak evil of any man. Eminent for family religion, and in that an excellent copy to all masters of families. Those things therefore which you have heard and seen in him do, and the God of peace shall be with you." These were the heads which were
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copiously and excellently enlarged upon in that sermon.

In the afternoon of that Sabbath, another sermon was preached by a near relation of Mr. Henry's, on Heb. xi. 4. *And by it, he being dead yet speaketh*; ἔτι λαλεῖται *is yet spoken of by us, and yet speaketh to us.*

The Wednesday following, July 1, being the lecture in course at Danford, in Whitchurch parish, Mr. Samuel Lawrence, of Nantwich, whose turn it was to preach that lecture, brought up the long train of mourners, (as he expressed it) in a most savoury and pertinent discourse on Heb. xiii. 7. *Remember them which have (or have had) the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.* "Bishops, no doubt," (saith he) "are here meant, Scripture primitive bishops, the pastors of particular congregations, for they were such as had spoken to them the word of God, and watched for their souls, (v. 17.) Such a one Mr. Henry was, that great man, who is fallen this day in Israel, removed from us, but hath left behind him a good name to be remembered, a good example to be imitated; many a good word spoken to us, and many a good prayer put up for us. Remember him with thankfulness, that God has given such power, such gifts and graces unto men. I never knew a man (said he) in all my acquaintance, in whom I have seen so much of God as in good Mr. Henry, whose holy, humble, heavenly, gracious conversation hath been to me no small confirmation of the truth of the Christian religion; that God gave him to you, and continued him so long, to see the church in a better state than he had sometimes seen it; that God crowned his labours with such great success. Many souls in heaven,

heaven, and some on earth blessing God that ever they saw his face, and that God continued him in his usefulness to the last. Remember him with a quiet submission to the hand of God in his removal from us. Sensible we must be of the stroke; it is a public loss, a loss to the ministry, our hands are this day weak; a loss to the nation, for which he was a powerful intercessor; a loss to this country, in which he was a burning and shining light; but yet we must acquiesce in the divine will. The treasure was in an earthen vessel, and God will bring us to depend more upon himself; and he is teaching us to live, and live to Christ without good Mr. Henry, though we have sometimes said, we did not know how we could live without him. Remember him to pay all honour and respect to his name and memory; rise up, and call him blessed. That is a foul tongue, as well as a lying one, that can say any thing of him unbecoming a disciple, servant, and minister of Jesus Christ. Remember him, to imitate his good example. Many of you will be called Mr. Henry's followers; be so indeed. He was a pattern to ministers of diligence, zeal, humility, and great meekness in dealing with all people, which contributed abundantly to his success; his preaching affectionate, without affectation. To all people he was a pattern of faith and charity, and contempt of the world, of zeal and moderation, patience in suffering, and of constancy and perseverance to the end. Remember him, and remember your sins which have provoked God to take him away. Have not we grieved this good man's spirit? &c. Remember him, and remember Christ's fulness, who is the same, (v. 8.) and hath the residue of the spirit. Instruments shifted, cisterns emptied, but there is the same in the fountain. Remember him, and remember your own death,

death, and Heaven where he is. We may think the worse of this world, which is much impoverished, and the better of Heaven, which is somewhat enriched by the removal of this good man."

Thus we have gleaned a little out of the sermons, which very well deserved to have been published at large, some of the testimonies that were borne to him, by such as had had long and intimate acquaintance with him, that knew his excellencies very much, and knew as little to give flattering titles; nor was it any invidious piece of service, to speak thus honourably of one, who like Demetrius, had a good report of all men, and of the truth itself.

Nor was it there only, but from abroad, that very honourable testimonies were given of him. Sir Henry Ashurst (whose great worth and usefulness the world hath been made to know, by some of the best pens of the age) besides the personal acquaintance he had with Mr. Henry, both at Boreatton and in London, had kept up a constant correspondence with him, by letter, for many years. Read the character he gave of him, in a letter to a near relation of Mr. Henry's, upon the tidings of his death. "I need not tell you how sadly I received the doleful news of Mr. Henry's translation, who, I do think, lived the greatest example of sincere godliness, with prudence and sweetness of temper, of any I ever knew." And in another letter, not only proposing, but pressing the publication of an account of his life, he professeth, he thought there was none like him in his day, at least of his acquaintance, which is known to be both of the largest and of the best: "And," (saith he) "if Sir Fulk Grevil would have it inscribed upon his tomb-stone, that he was a friend to Sir Philip Sidney, I may well be pleased

to have it told to the world, that I loved and honoured blessed Mr. Henry; a man of so much prudence, and withal so much sincerity; of so good a temper, so much a gentleman, and yet of such strict piety and devotedness to God, that I scarce ever knew his fellow."

The reverend Mr. William Turner, now vicar of Walburton, in Sussex, (of whom mention was made before) lately sent to me a very kind letter, *ex mero motu*, with his free consent to have it inserted in this account; some hints whereof I think fit to subjoin.

" Worthy Sir,

" I am glad to hear that you have been prevailed with to set upon so good a work, as recording the most remarkable passages of Mr. Henry's life. I doubt not but you will meet with some, that will give such a history but a cold reception. All that part of the world that lies in darkness, will be offended, when beams of clear light and sun-shine first dart into their faces. *Virtutem præsentem odimus.*

" A little before I went to the University, I was upon the commendation of my worthy school-master Mr. E. (yet living), and with my father's consent, half a year a domestic with him; partly as a tutor to his young ones, and partly as a pupil to himself; and in some little degree as a companion; where I had the opportunity of informing myself more fully concerning the humour and principles, and conversation of a sort of people (and especially him and his family) whom I had heard aspersed very freely in former companies, and represented to the world, as very hypocritical and disloyal people. At my first going I resolved to stand upon my guard, and pry into the cause,

which was then the great subject of difference and dispute; and upon the whole do say, that Mr. Henry was a man of so clear a brain, so gentle a behaviour, so steady a conversation, so regular a devotion, was so courteous and condescending to inferiors, so respectful and dutiful to superiors, so sweet and obliging to all; was so careful to improve his time well, to do as much good as possible to every body, so constantly affectionate in his prayers for the king and government, so desirous to keep up a fair correspondence and communion with his conformable brethren, so very indifferent in making proselytes to his particular opinions; and withal, so zealous to promote substantial goodness and true christianity, so mighty inoffensive and peaceable in all his expressions and actions; so prudent, pure, pious, just, sober, charitable, cheerful, and pleasant, that I profess I am almost afraid to give him his due character without some correctives, lest they that knew him not should suspect my veracity, and imagine my pen to be managed by some mercenary hand. I remember the worshipful Rowland Hunt, of Boreatton, Esq. speaking of Mr. Henry, thus expressed himself to me, (and if I mistake not, the lord ambassador Paget was present) 'I was' (said he) 'near seven years resident in the universities, and seven more at the inns of court in London, and had opportunity of knowing and acquainting myself with the most eminent divines and preachers in both those places; yet I never found any every way so accomplished, for clearness and quickness of apprehension, solidity of judgment, and roundness of style, as Mr. Henry is.' I have noted in my *Book of Providences*, the remark I made upon the temporal blessings God had rewarded him with; viz. a good and virtuous consort, who brought him a good estate, gave him

a due reverence, loved him with an intire affection; an ingenious and hopeful offspring, well affected, well educated, and well disposed of in the world; the favour of men, and a quiet undisturbed habitation upon earth, in great measure, &c.

Sic testatur; sic monet, sic precatur,
Amicus mærens, anhelus, superstes.

W. TURNER, A. M."

Another very worthy Conformist, formerly of his acquaintance, but now living at a great distance, having occasion to mention him in a letter to a friend, calls him "The great, good, and now glorious Mr. Henry, whose memory" (saith he) "shall ever be precious, and even sacred to me."

Such as these were the honourable testimonies which all that knew him, and knew how to value true excellency, attended him with. It is part of the recompence of charity and moderation in this world, that it obtains a good report of all men. *The kingdom of God* (saith the blessed Apostle, Rom. xiv. 17, 18.) *is not meat and drink* (which were then the matters of doubtful disputation) *but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*; and he that in these things serveth Christ, *is not only acceptable to God, but approved of men*; as on the contrary, they that *judge* will be *judged*, and *with what measure we mete, it will be measured to us again*. And this is the excellency of a good name, that it is out of the reach of death, and is not buried in the grave, but rather grows up from it. It is not for nothing that Solomon hath joined this good name, which is better than precious ointment, with the day of one's death, which upon that account is better than the day of one's birth, that it compleats the character of those that finish their
course

course well, and are faithful unto death; whereas a great name, like the names of the great ones of the earth is often withered and blemished by death. We read of those that *bear their shame when they go down to the pit, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living*, Ezek. xxxii. 35.)

At a meeting of the dissenting ministers of Cheshire, at Knutsford, in May 1696, (a few weeks before Mr. Henry died) it was agreed, that their next meeting should be at Chester (though inconvenient to many of them) upon condition that he would meet them there, and give them a sermon. It was with much difficulty that he was prevailed with to promise it, but his master called for him before the time appointed came. Mr. Flavel, of Devonshire, died when he was under a like appointment. But happy they that are *come to the general assembly, and church of the first-born, and to the spirits of just men made perfect*.

As to his bodily presence, he was of a middle stature, his complexion not approaching to any extreme, of a very pleasant aspect, and an unusual mixture of gravity and sweetness in the air of his countenance, which was the true index of his mind. When some of his friends have solicited him to have his picture drawn, he would put them off with this, that *the best picture of a minister is in the hearts of his people*.

CHAP. X.

A Miscellaneous Collection of some of his Sayings, Observations, Counsels and Comforts, out of his Sermons, Letters and Discourses.

MR. HENRY, through the excess of his modesty and self-diffidence, never published any of his labours to the world, nor ever fitted or prepared any of them for the press; and yet none more valued the labours of others, or rejoiced more in them; nor have I heard any complain less of the multitude of good books, concerning which he often said, that *store is no sore*, and he was very forward to persuade others to publish; and always expressed a particular pleasure in reading the lives, actions and sayings of eminent men, ancient and modern, which he thought the most useful and instructive kind of writings. He was also a very candid reader of books, not apt to pick quarrels with what he read, especially when the design appeared to be honest, and when others would find fault, and say, this was wanting, and the other amiss, his usual excuse was, "There is nothing perfect under the sun."

It will be but a small repair of this want of the publishing of some of his works, (but I doubt it will prove the best we can make) to glean up some few of many of his sayings, observations, and good instructions (as his *remains*) which we shall not marshal in any order, but give them as they occur, besides those which have been already inserted into this narrative.

It was a saying he frequently used, which hath been mentioned already, that "every creature is that to us, and only that which God makes it to be:" and another was, "duty is ours, events are God's:" and another was, "the soul is the man, and therefore, that is always best for us, which is best for our souls:" and another was, "the devil cozens us of all our time, by cozening us of the present time."

In his thanksgivings for temporal mercies, he often said, "If the end of one mercy were not the beginning of another, we were undone:" and to encourage to the work of thanksgiving he would say, that "new mercies call for new returns of praise, and then those new returns will fetch in new mercies;" and from Psalm l. 29. *He that offers praise glorifies me, and to him that orders his conversation aright—.* He observed, *that thanksgiving is good, but thanks-living is better.*

When he spoke of a good name, he usually described it to be a name for good things with good people.

When he spoke of contentment, he used to say, "When the mind and the condition meet, there is contentment. Now in order to that, either the condition must be brought up to the mind, and that is not only unreasonable but impossible; for as the condition riseth, the mind riseth with it; or else the mind must be brought down to the condition, and that is both possible and reasonable." And he observed, "That no condition of life will of itself make a man content, without the grace of God; for we find Haman discontented in the court, Ahab discontented on the throne, Adam discontented in Paradise, nay (and higher we cannot go) the angels that fell discontented in Heaven itself."

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The three questions which he advised people to put to themselves in self-examination before the Sacrament, were, *What am I? What have I done? and what do I want?*

He used to recommend to his friends these four Scripture arguments against sin, expressed for memory sake in four verses, to be ready in an hour of temptation.

Is this thy kindness to thy friend?
It will be bitterness in the end.
The vows of God upon me lye;
Should such a man as I am fly?

He said there were four things which he would not for all the world have against him, *the word of God, his own conscience, the prayers of the poor, and the account of godly ministers.*

“He that hath a blind conscience which sees nothing, a dead conscience which feels nothing, and a dumb conscience which saith nothing, is in as miserable a condition as a man can be in on this side hell.”

Preaching on 1 Pet. i. 6. *If need be, you are in heaviness—*. He shewed what need the people of God have of afflictions. “The same that our bodies have of physic, that our trees have of pruning, that gold and silver have of the furnace, that liquors have of being emptied from vessel to vessel, that the iron hath of a file, that the fields have of a hedge, that the child has of the rod.”

Preaching on that prayer of Christ for his disciples, John xvii. 21, *That they all may be one*, which no doubt is an answered prayer, for the Father heard him always; he shewed, “that notwithstanding the many sad divisions that are in the church, yet all the saints, as far as they are sanctified, are
one;

one; one in relation, one flock, one family, one building, one body, one bread: one by representation, one in image and likeness, of one inclination and disposition: one in their aims, one in their askings, one in amity and friendship, one in interest, and one in their inheritance; nay, they are one in judgment and opinion; though in some things they differ, yet those things in which they are agreed are many more, and much more considerable than those things wherein they differ. They are all of a mind concerning sin, that it is the worst thing in the world; concerning Christ, that he is all in all; concerning the favour of God, that it is better than life; concerning the world, that it is vanity; concerning the word of God, that it is very precious, &c."

Preaching on Gal. i. 16, concerning the conversion of Paul, he began his sermon with this remark, to raise attention: "Much is said in story concerning the seven wonders of the world, the temple of Ephesus, the pyramids of Egypt, the tomb of Mausolus, &c. all which are now no more; but I have been sometimes thinking, whether I could not name seven things which I would call the seven wonders of the church; and what do you think of these seven? are they not wonderful? 1. Our redemption by Jesus Christ, who is called Wonderful; 2. The salvation of Noah in the ark; 3. The faith of Abraham in offering up Isaac; 4. The patience of Job; 5. The providences of God towards the nation and people of the Jews; 6. The pouring out of the Spirit upon the apostles; 7. The conversion of Paul."

But it would be endless to gather up such passages as these out of his sermons, which were full of them, and we mention these only because they occur first.

He

He used to observe concerning the nation of the Jews, that before the captivity in Babylon, no people could be more strongly addicted to idols and idolatry than they were, to admiration, considering what clear warnings they had against it. But after that captivity, never was any people more averse to idols and idolatry than they, that the promise might be fulfilled, *Ephraim shall say, what have I to do any more with idols?* and he looked upon it, that the idolatry of the papists was one of the greatest obstructions to the Jews' conversion, which he did expect and look for, as not apprehending how the promises, Rom. xi. have yet had their full accomplishment; not that they shall again be incorporated into a people, but shall join themselves to the churches of Christ, in the several nations whither they be scattered.

The great thing that he condemned and witnessed against in the church of Rome, was their monopolizing of the church, and condemning all that are not in with their interests, which is so directly contrary to the spirit of the Gospel, as nothing can be more. He sometimes said, "I am too much a Catholic, to be a *Roman Catholic*."

He often expressed himself well pleased with that healing rule, which, if duly observed, would put an end to all our divisions: *Sit in necessariis unitas, in non necessariis libertas, in omnibus charitas*. Let there be in necessary things unity, in every thing charity, and then there need not be in every punctilio uniformity.

By the institutions of the Gospel (he said) he knew of "no holy place, one holy day, two holy sacraments, and four holy canons. *Let all things be done in charity: let all things be done to edifying: let all things be done decently and in order;*

order: and let all things be done to the glory of God."

When his opinion was asked about any doubtful matter, as playing at cards, the marriage of cousin-germans, or the like, he was very cautious in determining such things to be sinful; but he would say, it is good keeping on the safer side; and a man would not choose to go upon a precipice, when he might go upon even ground. Prov. x. 5, *He that walks uprightly, walks surely*, in opposition to walking at all adventures.

In the observations he made of God's providences, he frequently took notice in discourse with his friends, of the fulfilling of the Scripture in them; for (saith he) the Scripture hath many accomplishments, and is in the fulfilling every day. Speaking of a wicked son in the neighbourhood that was very undutiful to his mother, he charged some of his children to observe the providence of God concerning him: "Perhaps," saith he, "I may not live to see it, but do you take notice, whether God do not come upon him with some remarkable judgment in this life, according to the threatening implied in the reason annexed to the fifth commandment:" but he himself lived to see it fulfilled not long after, in a very signal providence.

He observed from Scripture instances, as well as from some providences which he had taken notice of in his own day, that if any began well in the ways of religion and godliness, and afterwards cast off their profession, and returned to profaneness again, usually God sets a mark of his displeasure upon them, by some visible judgment in this world; their estates ruined, their reputation blasted, their families sunk, or themselves brought to misery; so that all who passed by might say, "this was an apostate."

apostate." *If any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.*

He observed from Numb. x. 12, that all our removes in this world, are but from one wilderness to another. Upon any change that is before us, we are apt to promise ourselves a Canaan, but we shall be deceived, it will prove a wilderness.

Once pressing the study of the Scriptures, he advised to take a verse of Psalm cxix. every morning to meditate upon, and so go over the psalm twice in the year, and that (said he) will bring you to be in love with all the rest of the Scripture; and he often said, *all grace grows, as love to the word of God grows.*

One asking his advice, what to do when (as often unavoidably) we are in the sight and hearing of the wickedness of the wicked, and whether we are to reprove them; "Why," saith he, "you know what an angry countenance doth, and we may sometimes give a reproof by our looks, when we have not opportunity of giving it otherwise."

He would not bear that any should be evil spoken of in his hearing, it was to him as vinegar to the teeth. He would mind those who reflected upon people behind their backs, of that law, Lev. xix. 14, *Thou shalt not curse the deaf.* Those that are absent are deaf, they cannot right themselves, and therefore say no ill of them. A friend of his enquiring of him concerning a matter which tended to reflect upon some people, he began to give him an account of the story, but immediately broke off, and checked himself with these words, "but our rule is, to speak evil of no man," and would proceed no further in the story. It was but the week before he died, that one desired him to lend him such a book; "Truly," saith he, "I would lend it you, but that it rakes in the faults of some,

some, which should rather be covered with a mantle of love." It were easy to multiply instances of this.

To quicken people to diligence and liveliness in the worship of God, he would sometimes observe, that the temple was built upon a threshing-floor, a place of labour. He would also urge, that in answer to those who turned it to his reproach, that his meeting-place had been a barn; "No new thing," would he say, "to turn a threshing-floor into a temple."

When some zealous people in the country would have him to preach against top-knots, and other vanities in apparel, he would say, that was none of his business; if he could but persuade people to Christ, the pride and vanity, and excess of those things would fall of course; and yet he had a dislike to vanity and gaiety of dress, and allowed it not in those that he had influence upon. His rule was, that in such things we must neither be owls nor apes; not affect singularity, nor affect modishness; nor (as he used to observe from 1 Pet. iii. 3.) make *the putting on of apparel our adorning*, because Christians have better things to adorn themselves with. When some complained to him of a relation of theirs, that would not let them dress his children with ribbands, and other fine things, "Why truly," said Mr. Henry, "those things are fit for children;" thereby reproving both him that would not allow them to his children, and them that perhaps minded them too much themselves.

He often, both in sermons and discourses, would press people to fix to themselves some good principles, and to come off from the corrupt and carnal principles that worldly people go by. He took all occasions to recommend such principles as these: "That God who is the first and best, should have
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the first and best; that a part in Christ is a good part; that soul prosperity is the best prosperity, and that it is well or ill with us, according as it is well or ill with our souls; that honesty is the best policy; that those that would have the comfort of relations, must be careful to do the duty of them; that all is well that ends everlastingly well; that time, and the things of time, are nothing compared with eternity, and the things of eternity; that it is better to suffer the greatest affliction than to commit the least sin; that it highly concerns us to do that now, which we shall most wish we had done when we come to die; that work for God is its own wages; that it is folly for a man to do that which he must certainly undo again by repentance, or be undone to all eternity." Such as these were the principles he would have Christians to govern themselves by.

Speaking of the causes of atheism, he had this observation; that a head full of vain and unprofitable notions, meeting with a heart full of pride and self-conceitedness, dispose a man directly to be an atheist.

A gentlewoman, that upon some unkindness betwixt her and her husband, was parted from him, and lived separately near a twelve-month, grew melancholy, and complained of sin, and the withdrawing of the light of God's countenance, and the want of assurance: he told her she must rectify what was amiss between her and her husband, and return into the way of duty, else it was in vain to expect peace. Her friends were against it; but he said, he was confident it would prove so.

He said he had observed concerning himself, that he was sometimes the worse for eating, but never for abstinence; sometimes the worse for wearing too few cloaths, but never for wearing too many;

many; sometimes the worse for speaking, but never for keeping silence.

As to his letters, he was very free in writing to his friends. A good letter, he would say, may perhaps do more good than a good sermon, because the address is more particular, and that which is written remains. His language and expressions in his letters were always pious and heavenly, and seasoned with the salt of grace; and when there was occasion, he would excellently administer counsels, reproofs, or comforts by letter. He kept no copies of his letters, and it is impossible if we should attempt it, to retrieve them from the hands into which they were scattered. Mr. Rutherford's and Mr. Allen's letters, that (like some of the most excellent of Paul's Epistles) bore date out of a prison, have a mighty tincture of their peculiar prison-comforts and enlargements; we have none such to produce of Mr. Henry's, no pastoral letters or prison letters; he was himself, in his whole conversation, *an epistle of Christ*.

But we shall only glean up some passages out of such of his letters as are in our hands, which may be affecting and edifying.

To his son when he was abroad for improvement at London, in the year 1685, and 1686, with the common business of his letters, which was always written with a savor of religion, he would intermix such lines as these: "We are all well here, thanks be to God, the Divine Providence watching about our tabernacle, *and compassing us about with favour, as with a shield*. Our great enquiry is, *What shall we render?* Alas! our renderings are nothing to our receivings; we are like the barren field, on which much cost is bestowed, but the crop is not accordingly. Our Heavenly Father is loading us with his benefits, and we are loading him with our sins,

sins, grieving him that comforts us; and how long, how long shall it be so? O that it might be otherwise! that our mercies might be as oil to the wheels, to make us so much the more active and lively in our master's work, especially considering how it is with our fellow-servants, they empty and we full, they Marah and we Naomi. There may a day come, when it may cost dear to be honest, but after all, *to fear God and keep his commandments, is the whole of man.* I therefore commend it to you, and you to God, *who is a shield and buckler to them that fear him.*

“ We are well, but in daily expectation of that which we are born, and born again to, and that is trouble in this world, yet rejoicing in hope of the glory of God, which we are reaching after, and pressing towards, as we trust you are also. Where you are, you see more of the glittering vanities of this world, in a day, than we here do in an age; and are you more and more in love with them, or dead and dying to them? I hope dead and dying to them, for they are poor things, and perish in the using; make many worse that enjoy them, but none better. What is translated *veraxion of spirit*, Eccl. i. 2. may be read *feeding upon wind*, comp. Hos. xii. 1. and can wind satisfy? The Lord preserve and keep you from all evil, the Lord preserve and keep your soul! We both send you our love, and bless you together, and apart, every day, in the name of the Lord. Amen and amen.

“ Be sincere and humble and choice in your company, always either getting good or doing good, gathering in or laying out. Remember to keep the heart with all diligence and above all keepings, for there the fountain is, and if that be well kept and clean, the streams will be accordingly.

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“ It is some short refreshment to friends and relations, to see and hear from one another, but it passeth away, and we have here no continuing city, no abiding delights in this world; our rest remains elsewhere; those we have, lose much of their sweetness, from the thoughts of parting with them while we enjoy them, but the happiness to come is eternal. After millions of millions of ages (if we may so speak of eternity) as far from an end as the first moment; and the last of glory will be glory (so some read Prov. xxv. 27.) Keep that in your eye, my dear child, and it will as much as any thing dazzle your eyes, to all the fading deceiving vanities of this lower world; and will be a quickening motive to you, to abound always in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know your labour shall not be in vain in the Lord. The Lord bless you, who blesseth indeed.

“ See that you walk circumspectly, not as the fools, but as the wise; many eyes are upon you, his especially, who is all eye; *cave, Deus videt. Memento hoc agere*; Our blessing with 1 Chron. xxviii. 9.

“ The same, which is yet the prologue of yours, is of ours also. *Omnia bene, laus Deo!* but he that girdeth on the harness, must not boast as he that puts it off. While the world we live in is under the moon, constant in nothing but inconstancy, and such changes are made in other families, why should we alone promise ourselves immunity from the common lot? There would be no need of faith and patience which are winter graces, if it should be always summer-time with us. We have three unchangeables to oppose to all other mutabilities; an unchangeable covenant, an unchangeable God, and an unchangeable Heaven: and while these three remain the same, yesterday,

to-day, and for ever, welcome the will of our heavenly Father in all events that may happen to us; come what will, nothing can come amiss to us.

“ Keep the invisible things of the other world always in your eye. He that ventures the loss of an eternal crown and kingdom, for a cup or two of puddle-water (such as all terrene pleasures in comparison are) makes a bargain, which no less a space than that which is everlasting will be sufficient to bewail and repent of. How much better is it to lay up in store now a good foundation for time to come, and to lay hold on eternal life? doing those works which we would be willing should hereafter follow us, yet still making the blessed Jesus our all in all.

“ The further progress you make in your studies, you will find them the easier; it is so with religion, the worst is at first. It is like the picture that frowned at first entrance, but afterwards smiles and looks pleasant. They that walk in sinful ways, meet with some difficulties at first, which custom conquers, and they become as nothing. It is good accustoming ourselves to that which is good. The more we do, the more we may do in religion. Your acquaintance (I doubt not) increaseth abroad, and accordingly your watch must be; for by that oftentimes, ere we are aware, we are ensnared. *He that walketh with wise men, shall be wise.*

“ The return of the Spring invites our thanksgiving for the mercy of it. The birds are singing early and late, according to their capacity, the praises of their Creator; but man only, that hath most cause, finds something else to do. It is redeeming love that is the most admirable love; less than an eternity will not suffice to adore it in. Lord, how is it! Lord, what is man? As the streams lead
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to the fountain, so should all our mercies lead us to that. We both of us send you our most affectionate love and blessing; blessing! that is, we pray and beseech the most blessed God, even our own God, to give you his blessing, for he only can command the blessing; and those whom he blesseth are blessed indeed. Let us still hear to our comfort, that you walk in the truth, living above the things of the world, as dead to them. The Lord in mercy fit us for his will in the next providence, public and personal, for time is always teeming.

“Your improvement is our joy. Be sincere and serious, cloathed with humility, abounding always in the work of the Lord; and when you have done all, saying I am an unprofitable servant. It was the good advice of the moral philosopher, in your converse with men, *Μέμνησο ἀπιστεῖν* (*distrust*); but I must add, in every thing towards God *Μέμνησο πιστεύειν* (*believe*); expect temptation and a snare at every turn, and walk accordingly. We have a good cause, a vanquished enemy, a good second, and extraordinary pay; for he that overcomes, needs not desire to be more happy than the second and third of the Revelation speaks him to be. The God of all mercy and grace compass you about always with his favour, as with a shield.

“I would have you redeem time for hearing the word in season and out of season; your other studies will prosper never the worse; especially if you could return immediately from it to the closet again, without cooling divertisements by the way.

“See your need of Christ more and more, and live upon him; no life like it, so sweet, so safe. *Christus meus mihi in omnia*. We cannot be discharged from the guilt of any evil we do, without his merit to satisfy; we cannot move in the performance of any good required, without his spirit

and grace to assist and enable for it; and when we have done all that all is nothing, without his mediation and intercession to make it acceptable; so that every day, in every thing, he is all in all. Though you are at a distance from us now, we rejoice in the good hope we have through grace, of meeting again in the land of the living, that is, on earth, if God see good, however, in Heaven, which is the true land of the truly living, and is best of all. The Lord God everlasting be your sun and shield in all your ways. See time hasting away apace towards eternity, and the judge even at the door, and work accordingly, wherever you are, alone or in company; be always either doing or getting good, sowing or reaping. As for me, I make no other reckoning, but that the time of my departure is at hand, and what trouble I may meet with before, I know not, the will of the Lord be done! one of my chief cares is, that no iniquity of mine may be laid up for you, which God grant for his mercy sake in Christ Jesus. Amen.

“Be careful of your health. Remember the rule, *venienti occurrere*; but especially neglect not the main matter. The soul is the main; if that do well, all is well. Worship God in the spirit; rejoice in Christ Jesus, and have no confidence in the flesh. God be gracious unto thee my son! redeem time, especially for your soul. Expect trouble in this world, and prepare for it; expect happiness in the other world, and walk worthy of it, unto all pleasing.

“A good book is a good companion at any time, but especially a good God, who is always ready to hold communion with those that desire and seek communion with him. Keep low and humble in your thoughts and opinion of yourself; but aim high in your desires and expectations, even

as high as the kingdom of Heaven itself, and resolve to take up with nothing short of it. The Lord guide you in all your ways, and go in and out before you, and preserve you blameless to his heavenly kingdom!

Immediately after his son was ordained to the work of the ministry at London, in the year 1687, he thus wrote to him: "Are you now a minister of Jesus Christ? Hath he counted you faithful, putting you into the ministry? then be faithful; out of love to him *feed his lambs*; make it your *ἐργον*, as a workman that needs not be ashamed, *rightly dividing the word of truth*. I hope what you experienced of the presence of God with you in the solemnity, hath left upon you a truly indelible character, and such impressions, as neither time nor any thing else shall be able to wear out. Remember Psa. lxxi. 16. It is in the eye of sense, a bad time to set out in; but in sowing and reaping, clouds and wind must not be heeded. The work is both comfortable and honourable, and the reward rich and sure; and if God be pleased to give opportunity and a heart, though there may be trouble attending it, it will be easily borne. If we suffer with him we shall also reign with him. I am, and shall be, according to my duty and promise, earnest at the throne of grace, on your behalf, that the Lord will pour out upon you of his Holy Spirit, that what he calls you to, he would fit you for; especially that he would take you off your own bottom, and lay you low in the sense of your own unworthiness, inability and insufficiency, that you may say with the evangelical prophet; *Wo is me, I am undone!* And with Jeremiah, *I am a child*; and with Paul, *I am nothing*; where this is not, the main thing is wanting; for God resists the proud, but gives grace to the humble. Now the

the Lord give you that grace to be humble; and then, according to his promise, he will make you rich in every other grace!"

It were very easy to transcribe many more such lines as these, out of his letters to his son, but these shall suffice.

We shall next gather up some few passages out of some of his letters to a person of quality in London, (such of them as are come to our hands, which are but few of many.) The beginning of his correspondence with that gentleman (which continued to his death, and was kept up monthly for a great while) was in the year 1686, and the following letter broke the ice.

"Honoured Sir,

"Hoping you are by this time, as you intended, returned to London, to your home and habitation there, I make bold, according to my promise, to salute you in a few lines. In the first place to be your remembrancer of the vows of God which are upon you, upon the account of the many mercies of your journey, both in your going out, and in your coming in. Was not every step you took hedged about with special providence? had not the angels charge over you? did not they pitch their tents where you pitched your's? did not goodness and mercy follow you, and should it not then be had in thankful remembrance? where mercy goes before, should not duty follow after? If you have Mr. Angier's Life, you will find there, page 88, 89, a collection out of his Diary, of ten heads of mercies, acknowledged in a journey, to heighten God's praises, and to quicken his own and others' hearts therein, and they are certainly very affecting. Next, sir, I am to acquaint you, that I have faithfully disposed of the money you left with me

at

at parting, to eight poor praying widows in this neighbourhood, as you appointed. And this among all the rest of your alms-deeds, is had in memorial before God; it is fruit that will abound to your account, *bread sent a voyage upon the waters*, which you and yours will find again after many days; for he is faithful that hath promised. The Apostle's Prayer shall be mine, (2 Cor. ix. 10.) *Now he that ministereth seed to the sower, both minister bread for your food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness! Amen.*

And some time after he writes, "Your acknowledging God in all your affairs, I cannot but rejoice in, as an evidence of the uprightness of your heart towards him; it is the life and soul of all religion; it is indeed to walk with God. That includes as much as any other Scripture command in so few words, *in all thy ways acknowledge him*; in every thing thou dost, have an eye to him; make his word and will thy rule, his glory thy end; fetch in strength from him; expect success from him; and in all events that happen, which are our ways too (whether they be for us or against us) he is to be acknowledged, that is, adored: if prosperous with thankfulness, if otherwise with submission; as Job, *the Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken, and blessed be the name of the Lord*. This is to set the Lord always before us, to have our eye ever towards the Lord; where this is not, we are so far *without God in the world*."

In another letter, "As to the accession lately made to your estate, much good may it do you; that is, much good may you do with it, which is the true good of an estate. The lady Warwick would not thank him, that would give her a thousand a year, and tie her up from doing good with it,

it. I rejoice in the large heart which God hath given you with your large estate, without which heart the estate would be your snare."

I have lately met with a letter of Mr. Henry's, to a couple related to him, who in a very short time had buried all their children of the small-pox, to their great grief: it was in the year 1679. What comfort and counsels he administered to them, may be of use to others in their afflictions, and therefore I shall transcribe the whole letter, though it be long.

"Dear Cousins,

"This is to you both, whom God hath made one in the conjugal relation, and who are one also in the present affliction; only to signify to you, that we do heartily sympathize with you in it. The trial is indeed sharp, and there will be need of all the wisdom and grace you have, and of all the help of friends you can get, both to bear and to improve it aright. You must bear it with silence and submission. *Surely it is meet to be said unto God, I have borne chastisement.* He is sovereign Lord of all, and may do with us and ours as pleaseth him. It is not for the clay to quarrel with the potter. It was mercy you had children, and comfort in them so long; it is mercy that yet you have one another, and your children are not lost, but gone before, a little before, whither you yourselves are hastening after. And if a storm be coming, (as God grant it be not) it is best with them that put first into the harbour. Your children are taken away from the evil to come, and you must not mourn as they that have no hope. Sensible you cannot but be, but dejected and sullen you must not be; that will but put more bitterness into the cup, and make way for another, perhaps a sharper stroke. You must

must not think, and I hope you do not, that there cannot be a sharper stroke; for God hath many arrows in his quiver; he can heat the furnace seven times hotter, and again and again seven times hotter, till he hath consumed us; and if he should do so, yet still we must say, he hath punished us less than our iniquities have deserved. For examples of patience in the like kind, we have two eminent ones in the book of God; those are Job and Aaron: of the latter it is said, (Lev. x. 3.) *he held his peace*; and that which quieted him, was what his brother Moses said to him, *this is that which the Lord hath said, I will be sanctified*; and if God be sanctified, Aaron is satisfied; if God have glory from it, Aaron hath nothing to say against it. Of the former it is said, (Job i. 20.) *he fell down*, but it was *to worship*; and we are told how he expressed himself, *the Lord gave, &c.* He acknowledgeth God in all. And indeed after all, this is it (my dear cousins) that you must satisfy yourselves with under this sad providence, that the Lord hath done it, and the same will that ordered the thing itself, ordered all the circumstances of it; and who are we that we should dispute with our Maker? *Let the potsherds strice with the potsherds of the earth, but let not the thing formed, say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus?* And as for the improvement of this affliction, (which I hope both of you earnestly desire, for it is a great loss to lose such a providence, and not be made better by it) I conceive there are four lessons which it should teach you, and they are good lessons, and should be well learned, for the advantage of them is unspeakable. 1. It should for ever imbitter sin to you; you know what she said to the prophet, (1 Kings xvii. 18.) *Art thou come to call my sins to remembrance, and to slay my*
my

my son? It is sin, sin that is the old kill-friend, the Jonah that hath raised this storm, the Achan that hath troubled your house; then how should you grow in your hatred of it, and endeavours against it; that you may be the death of that which hath been the death of your dear children; I say the death of it, for nothing less will satisfy the true penitent, than the death of such a malefactor. 2. It should be a spur to you, to put you on in heaven's way. It may be you were growing remiss in duty, beginning to slack your former pace in religion, and your Heavenly Father saw it, and was grieved at it, and sent this sad providence to be your monitor, to tell you, you should remember whence you were fallen, and do your first works, and be more humble and holy, and heavenly, and self-denying, and watchful, abounding always in the work of the Lord. O blessed are they that come out of such a furnace thus refined, they will say hereafter, it was a happy day for them that ever they were put in. 3. You must learn by it as long as you live, to keep your affections in due bounds towards creature comforts. How hard is it to *love*, and not to *over love*; to delight in children or yoke-fellows, and not over delight: now God is a jealous God, and will not give his glory to any other; and our excess this way doth often provoke him to remove that mercy from us, which we do thus make an idol of; and our duty is to labour when he doth so, to get that matter amended, and to rejoice in all our enjoyments *with trembling*, and *as if we rejoiced not*. 4. It should be a means of drawing your hearts and thoughts more upwards and homewards; I mean your everlasting home. You should be looking oftener now than before into the other world. *I shall go to him*, saith David, when his little son was gone before.

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It is yet but a little while ere all the things of time shall be swallowed up in eternity. And the matter is not great, whether we or ours die first, whilst we are all dying: *in the midst of life we are in death.* What manner of persons then ought we to be? Now our Lord Jesus Christ himself, and God, even our Father, be your support under, and do you good by this dispensation, and give you a name *better than that of sons and daughters.* We are daily mindful of you at the throne of grace, in our poor measure, and dearly recommended to you, &c."

We shall next gather up some passages out of his letters to his children, after they were married and gone from him.

To one of his daughters with child, of her first child, he thus writes, "You have now one kind of burthen more than ever you had before to cast upon God; and if you do so, he will sustain you, according to his promise."

And when the time of travail was near, thus; "You know whom you have trusted, even him who is true and faithful, and never yet did, nor ever will, forsake the soul that seeks him. Though he be almighty, and can do every thing, yet this he cannot do, he cannot deny himself, nor be worse than his word. But what is his word? Hath he promised that there shall be always a safe and speedy delivery? That there shall be no Jabez, no Benoni? No, but if there be, he hath promised it shall work together for good; hath promised, if he doth not save *from*, he will save *through*. If he call to go, even through the valley of the shadow of death, (and what less is child-bearing?) he will be with you, his rod and his staff shall comfort you, and that is well. Therefore your faith must be in those things

things as the promise is, either so or so ; and which way soever it be, *God is good, and doth good*: therefore (my dear daughter) *lift up the hands that hang down*, cast your burthen upon him, trust also in him, and let your thoughts be established. We are mindful of you in our daily prayers, but you have a better intercessor than we, who is heard always."

To another of them in the same circumstance, he thus writes, "Your last letter speaks you in a good frame, which rejoiced my heart, that you were fixed, fixed waiting upon God ; that your faith was uppermost, above your fears ; that you could say, *Behold the hand-maid of the Lord, let him do with me as seemeth good in his eyes*. We are never fitter for a mercy, nor is it more likely to be a mercy indeed, than when it is so with us : now the Lord keep it always in the imagination of the thoughts of your heart !" And he concludes, "Forget not I Tim. ii. last."

When one of his daughters was safely delivered, in a letter to another of them that was drawing near to that needful hour, he observed, that when David said, (Psal. cxvi. 12.) *What shall I render?* He presently adds, (ver. 13.) *I will call upon the name of the Lord*. "As if," saith he, "calling upon the name of the Lord for mercy for you, were one way of rendering unto the Lord, for the great benefit done to your sister."

On occasion of affliction in their families by the sickness or death of children, or otherwise, he always wrote some word in season.

"In the furnace again?" saith he: "but a good friend sits by, and it is only to take away more of the dross. If less fire would do, we should not have it so much and so often. O for faith to trust the refiner, and to refer all to his will and wisdom,

wisdom, and to wait the issue; for I have been young, and now am old, but I never yet saw it in vain to seek God, and to hope in him."

At another time he thus writes; "Tough and knotty blocks must have more and more wedges; our Heavenly Father when he judgeth will overcome. We hear of the death of dear S. T. and chide ourselves for being so often pleased with his little pretty fashions, lest we offended therein, by being too much so. No rival must sit with him in his throne, who deserves all our love and joy, and hath too little of it."

At another time, upon the death of another little one, "The dear little one," saith he, "made but a short passage through this to another world, where it is to be for ever a living member of the great body, whereof Jesus Christ is the ever-living head; but for which hope there were cause for sorrow indeed. If he that gives, takes, and it is but his own, why should we say, *What dost thou?*"

At another time upon the like occasion; "Our quiver of children's children is not so full, but God can soon empty it: O for grace, grace at such a time, which will do that that nature cannot. The God of all grace supply your need and ours, according to his riches in glory. The Lord is still training you up in his good school; and though no affliction for the present be joyous, but grievous, nevertheless afterwards it yields well: your work is in every thing to bring your will to the will of God."

To one of his daughters concerning her little ones, he thus writes; "They are but bubbles: we have many warnings to sit loose; the less we rely upon them in our joys and hopes, the more likely to have them continued to us. Our God is a jealous

ous God, nor will he suffer the creature to usurp his throne in our affections."

Upon the death of a little child but a few days old, he thus writes; "The tidings of the death of your little one were afflicting to us; but the clay must not say to the potter, *What dost thou?* If he that took be the same that gave, and what he gave and took was his own, by our own consent, it becomes us to say, *blessed be the name of the Lord*. I hope you have been learning to acknowledge God in all events, and to take all as from his hand, who hath given us to know, I say, *to know* (for Paul saith so) that *all things do work together*, (not only *shall*, but *do*) *for our good*, that we may be more and more *partakers of his holiness*. He can make the two left as comfortable to you as all the three, as all your five could have been. However, if all the cisterns were drawn dry, while you have your fountain to go to, you are well; you may also by faith look forward, and say, it was a covenant-child, and through mercy, we shall see it again in a better world."

Upon the sickness of a dear child, he thus writes to the parent: "You and we are taught to say, *It is the Lord*; upon his will must we wait, and to it must we submit in every thing; not upon constraint, but of choice; not only because he is the potter and we the clay; and therefore in a way of sovereignty he may do what he pleaseth with us and ours; but because he is our Father, and will do nothing but what shall be for good to us. The more you can be satisfied in this, and the more willing to resign, the more likely to have. Be strong therefore in the grace which is in Christ Jesus; it is given for such a time of need as this. I hope your fears and ours will be prevented, and pray they may; but thanks be to God, we know the

the worst of it, and that worst hath no harm in it, while the better part is ours, which cannot be taken away from us."

To one of his children in affliction, he writes thus; "It is a time of trial with you, according to the will of your and our Heavenly Father. Though you see not yet what he means by it, you shall see. He means your good, and not hurt; he is shewing you the vanity of all things under the sun, that your happiness lies not in them, but in himself only; that they and we are passing away, withering flowers, that therefore we may learn to die to them, and live above them, placing our hope and happiness in better things, trusting in him alone who is the rock of ages, who fails not, neither can fail, nor will fail those that fly to him. I pray you, think not a hard thought of him, no not one hard thought, for he is good, and doth good in all he doth, and therefore all shall work for good; but then, as you are called according to his purpose (blessed be his name for it) so you must love him, and *love* (you know) *thinks no evil*, but puts the best construction upon all that the person loved, saith, or doth; and so must you, though now for a season, if need be, you are in heaviness."

And at another time; "Your times and the times of your's are in the Lord's good hand, whose will is his wisdom. It is one thing (as we read and observed this morning, out of Ezek. xxii.) to be put into a furnace, and left there as dross to be consumed; and another thing to be put in as gold or silver to be melted for use, and to have the refiner set by. You know whom you have believed, keep your hold of the everlasting covenant: he is faithful that hath promised. We pray for you, and we give thanks for you daily, for the cup is mixed, therefore trust in the Lord for ever, and
rejoice

rejoice in the Lord always; again I say rejoice."

To one of his sons-in-law that was a little engaged in building, he thus writes; "Be sure to take God along with you in this, as in all other your affairs; for *except he build the house, they labour in vain that build it*. Count upon troublesome occurrences in it, and keep the spirit quiet within: and let not God's time nor dues be entrenched upon, and then all will be well."

It was but a little before he died that he wrote thus to one of his children; "We rejoice in God's goodness to you, that your distemper hath been a rod shaken only, and not laid on. He is good, and doth good; and should we not love him, and rest in our love to him? He saith, he doth in his to us, *and rejoiceth over us with singing*, (Zeph. iii. 17.) And have not we much more cause? What loveliness in us? What not in him? I pray let me recommend him to your love; love him, love him, with all the powers of your soul, and out of love to him please him. He is pleased with honest endeavours to please him; though after all, in many things we come short, for we *are not under the law, but under grace*."

To one of his children recovered from sickness he gives this hint; "Remember that a new life must be a new life indeed; reprieves extraordinary call for returns extraordinary."

The last journey he made to London was in August 1690: before he went, he sent this farewell letter to his son at Chester: "I am going forth this morning towards the great city, not knowing but it may be Mount Nebo to me: therefore I send you this as full of blessings as it can hold, to yourself, my daughter your wife, all the rest of my daughters, their husbands, and all the little ones,
together

together and severally. If I could command the blessings, I would; but I pray to him that hath and doth, and I trust will. The Lord bless you, and keep you, and lift up the light of his countenance upon you. As you have received, and you for your part preached Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in him; keeping a conscience always void of offence, both towards God, and towards all men. Love your mother, and be dutiful to her, and live in love and peace among yourselves, and the God of love and peace that hath been, will be with you. Amen."

To one who desired his direction for the attaining of the gift of prayer, he wrote the following letter of advice.

"If you would be able in words and expressions of your own, without the help of a form, to offer up prayers to God, observe these following rules of direction, in the use whereof, by God's blessing, you may in time attain thereunto.

"1. You must be thoroughly convinced that where such a gift is, it is of great use to a Christian, both very comfortable and very profitable, and therefore very desirable, and worth your serious endeavours; this must first be, or else all that follows will signify nothing: for it is as the wise man saith, (Prov. xviii. 1.) *Through desire a man having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom*; that is, till we are brought in some good measure to desire the end, we shall never in good earnest apply ourselves to the use of means, for the obtaining of it. It is a gift that fits a person to be of use to others in the duty of prayer, according as there is occasion, either in a family or in christian communion. It is also of great advantage to ourselves; for how can any form (though never so exact) be possibly contrived, so

as to reach all the circumstances of my particular case, and yet it is my duty, in every thing to make my requests known to God?

“ 2. As you should be persuaded of the excellent use of it, where it is attained, so also you should believe, that where it is not, it may be attained, and that without any great difficulty. No doubt but many are discouraged from endeavouring after it by an opinion they have that it is to no purpose; they think it a thing so far above their abilities, that they were as good sit still and never attempt it. This is of very bad consequence, as in other matters of religion, so particularly in this, and therefore watch against this suggestion, and conclude, that (though it may be harder to some than others) yet it is impossible to none: nay, this *wisdom is easy to him that understandeth*, where means are used in the fear of God.

“ 3. You must rightly understand and consider who it is, with whom you have to do in prayer, for your encouragement to come to him, though in the midst of many infirmities and imperfections. He is your father, your loving, tender-hearted father, who knows your frame, and remembers you are but dust; who is not extreme to mark what we do amiss, in manner and expression, where the heart is upright with him. You may judge a little concerning his love, by the disposition that is in you towards your children, when they come to ask things needful of you: and believe him to be infinitely more merciful and compassionate, than the most merciful and compassionate of fathers and mothers are or can be: especially remembering that we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, who is the great high priest of our profession, and whom he heareth always.

“ 4. You

“ 4. You must pray that you may pray; beg of God the Father of Lights, from whom every good and perfect gift comes, to bestow this gift upon you. We read, (Luke xi. 1.) that one of the disciples came to Jesus Christ upon this errand, *Lord teach us to pray*, and he had his request granted presently. Go you to him on the same errand. You may plead the relation of a child, from that Scripture, (Gal. iv. 6.) *And because you are sons, God hath sent forth the spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father*: and the promise also from that Scripture, (Zech. xii. 10.) *I will pour upon the house of David, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace, and of supplication*; which two, relation and a promise, if they be not sufficient to encourage your faith and hope in this address, what is or can be?

“ 5. It is good before you address yourself to the duty, to read a portion of holy Scripture, which will be of great use to furnish you both with matter and words for prayer, especially David's Psalms, and Paul's Epistles. The Holy Spirit hath provided for us a treasury or store-house, of what is suitable for all occasions; and where both the word and the matter are his own, and of his own framing, and inditing, if affections be stirring in us accordingly, we have great reason to believe he will accept of us. In divers places he hath himself put words into our mouths for the purpose, as Hos. xiv. 2. *Take with you words*. Matt. vi. 9. *After this manner therefore pray ye*, and often elsewhere.

“ 6. There must be some acquaintance with our own hearts, with our spiritual state and condition, our wants and ways, or else no good will be done in this matter. It is sense of need, hunger, thirst, cold, nakedness, that supplies the poor beggar at

your door with pertinent expressions and arguments, he needs not the help of any friend or book to furnish him; so if we know ourselves, and feel our condition, and set God before us as our God, able and ready to help us, words will easily follow wherewith to offer up our desires to him, who understands the language even of sighs and tears, and *groanings which cannot be uttered*, (Rom. viii. 26.)

“ 7. It is of use in stated prayer, ordinarily to observe a method, according to the several parts of prayer, which are these four:

“ 1. *Compellation or adoration*, which is the giving of due titles to God in our addresses to him, and therein ascribing to him the glory due unto his name. With this we are to begin our prayers, both for the working of a holy awe and dread upon our hearts towards him on the account of his greatness and majesty; as also for the strengthening of our faith and hope in him, upon the account of his goodness and mercy.

“ 2. *Confession*. Sin is to be confessed in every prayer: original sin as the root, spring-head and fountain; and actual sin as the fruit and stream proceeding from it. Herein you must not rest in *generals*, as the most do, but especially when you are in secret before the Lord, you must descend to *particulars*, opening the whole wound, hiding nothing from him, also aggravating the fault from the circumstances of it, judging and condemning yourself for it in the sight of God; and for your help herein, you must acquaint yourself with the divine law, the precepts and prohibitions of it, especially their extent and spiritual nature, as the rule, and then bring your own thoughts, words, and actions to it daily, to be tried by it.

“ 3. *Petition*,

“ 3. *Petition*, for such good things as God hath promised, and you have need of, both concerning this life and that which is to come. As to the latter, you are to pray for mercy to pardon, and grace to help in time of need. As to the former, for bread to eat, and raiment to put on, and a heart to be therewith contented. You are to pray for others also, the Church of God, the land of your nativity, magistrates, ministers, relations, and friends, not forgetting the afflictions of the afflicted.

“ 4. *Thanksgiving*, which should have a considerable share in every prayer; for our duty is, in every thing to give thanks for mercies received, public and personal, which is the will of God in Christ Jesus concerning us.

“ This rule of method is not so necessary to be observed in prayer, as in no case to be varied from; but it is certainly very useful and expedient, and a great help to young beginners in that duty.

“ 8. My advice is, that you would delay no longer, but forthwith apply yourself in the strength of Jesus Christ, to this sweet and excellent way of praying; and I dare say, in a short time you will find, through the aids and supplies of divine grace, what is at first hard and difficult, will by degrees be easy and delightful. The promise is, *that to him that hath, i. e. that hath, and useth what he hath, more shall be given.* Though you cannot do what you would, yet fail not to do what you can, wherein the Lord will accept of you, according to his everlasting covenant in Christ Jesus, *for we are not under the law, but under grace.*”

CHAP. XI.

A short Account of some of his Friends, especially his Brethren in the Ministry, that died before him.

WE think ourselves obliged to add this account out of his own papers, partly as an evidence of the great esteem he had of the gifts and graces of others to whom he delighted to do honour (an instance of that humility which he was in all respects a great example of); and partly that we may preserve the remembrance of some in that country, whose names ought not to be buried in oblivion. It is part of that honour which we owe to them that fear the Lord, to mention them with respect when they are dead and gone, that we may contribute something to the fulfilling of the promise, *that the righteous, and especially they who turn many to righteousness, shall be had in everlasting remembrance.* While their glorified souls shine as the stars in the firmament of our Father, it is fit that their embalmed memories should in these lower regions go forth as a lamp that burneth. The Jewish rabbins read Prov. x. 7, as a precept, *Let the memory of the just be blessed.* We will take them in the order wherein we find them in his Diary, according to the time of their death, premising only this note of his, occasioned by a particular instance; "Such a day I read the Life of old Mr. Bruen, of Stapleford, in which I met with some things that shame me, some things that confirm me, and some things that quicken me. Blessed be God for that cloud of witnesses we are encompassed about with."

Mr.

Mr. John Machin was buried at Newcastle, September 8, 1664, a worthy instrument in Gospel work : laborious, faithful, and successful above his fellows ; taken away in the midst of his days ; the first candle I have heard of put out by God, among the many hundreds put under a bushel by men. (An account of his holy exemplary life was printed many years after, drawn up, I think, by Mr. Newcome.)

Mr. Heath, late minister of Alkmans Church, in Salop, was buried May 28, 1666. He was of Christ's College, in Cambridge, where he was much valued for his great learning, especially in the Oriental tongues, in which he was one of the greatest masters of his age. He was employed to correct the Syriac and Arabic of the Polyglot Bible, which was sent down to him in sheets for that purpose, for which bishop Walton gave him a copy. He read the Liturgy till August 24, 1662, and then was silenced, because he could not come up to the imposed terms of conformity. When the Five Mile Act commenced, March 25, 1666, he removed to Wellington, and there within a few weeks died, and was buried. When he lay upon his death-bed, Mr. Lawrence asked him what reflections he had upon his nonconformity ; " Truly " (said he) " I would not but have done as I did for a thousand worlds." He had great confidence, that God would provide for his widow and children, according to promise. (The character Mr. Baxter gives of him is, that he was moderate, sedate, quiet, and religious.)

Much about the same time Mr. York died in Salop, a holy good man, and well approved in the ministry, who wasted his own candle in giving light to others, even after he was removed out of the candle-

candlestick. Lord! is this the meaning of Rev. xi. 12, concerning the witnesses?

Mr. Thomas Porter, late minister of Whitchurch, died at Salop, in a good old age, June 19, 1667. He was born in Northamptonshire, bred in Cambridge; he was settled minister of Hanmer, in Flintshire, long before the wars, by the means of sir John Hanmer, the patron, who was a very worthy, pious gentleman, and a great promoter of religion in that parish (but died in the midst of his days.) Here Mr. Porter's ministry was blessed with wonderful acceptance and success, both in that and the neighbouring parishes; and a great harvest of souls was there gathered in to Christ. After the wars were over (during the heat of which he was forced to withdraw) he procured Mr. Steel for Hanmer, and he removed to Whitchurch, where he continued an instrument of much good, till the king came in, and then he gave way to Dr. Bernard, a worthy moderate man. He preached his farewell sermon at Whitchurch, August 28, 1660, on Col. i. 24, and spent the rest of his days in silence and affliction. He was exercised long with pain upon his bed, and the multitude of his bones with strong pain. If this be done to the green tree, what shall be done to the dry? His dying counsel to the Lord's people, was to stick to Christ, and not to let him go, come life come death.

The worthy colonel Thomas Hunt died at his house in Shrewsbury, April 12, 1669, a true Nathanael, an Israelite indeed, in whom was no guile: one that like Caleb followed the Lord fully in difficult trying times; he was a member of the long parliament for Shrewsbury, and very active for God in his generation, abounding in good works, and his memory is blessed. I was going to Shrewsbury upon an appointment of his, and by the way met

met the sad news of his death, which was sudden, but not surprizing, to one that was always ready. He was twice at public ordinances the day before, being Lord's day, worshipped God with his family in the evening, went to bed well as at other times, but about two or three o'clock in the morning he waked very ill, and before five fell asleep in the Lord. Help, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth.

Mr. George Mainwaring, a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, and my worthy friend, died in a good old age, March 14, 1669-70, gathered as a shock of corn in his season. He was born in Wrenbury parish in Cheshire, supported at the University by Mr. Cotton, of Cumbermere, where he had the reputation of a good scholar; he was brought acquainted with the ways of religion by means of Mr. Buckly, his uncle, a strict Puritan. He was first chaplain to sir Henry Delves, afterwards rector of Baddely, and chaplain to sir Thomas Mainwaring. After the wars he was removed to Malpas, whence he was ejected upon the king's coming in. His conversation was exemplary, especially for plainness and integrity; he was eminent for expounding Scripture. While he was at Malpas, he constantly gave all the milk which his dairy yielded on the Lord's day to the poor.

Mr. John Adams, of Northwood, was buried at Ellesmere, April 4, 1670: he was a faithful minister of the Gospel.

Mr. Zechariah Thomas, my worthy friend, died of a consumption, at Nantwich, November 14, 1670, in the forty-first year of his age. He was bred up for a tradesman in Suffolk, but always addicted to his book, and was ordained a minister after the king came in, and entertained curate at Tilstock, under Dr. Bernard, but by reason of his nonconformity could not continue there long. On the

the Monday before he died, he said to those about him, that towards Wednesday he should take his leave of them, and did so. He was buried at Acton. Mr. Kirkes, vicar of Acton, preached, and gave him a worthy character (and such as he deserved) for uprightness, humility, moderation, prayer, faithfulness in reproof, patience under affliction; and in saying he was an Israelite indeed without guile, he said all. The Lord make me a follower of him, and of all the rest, who through faith and patience inherit the promises!

Mr. Joshua Richardson, my truly worthy friend and brother, died at Alkinton, in Whitchurch parish, September 1, 1671. Blessed be God for his holy life and happy death. He was several years minister of Middle, in Shropshire, and was turned out thence for nonconformity. He was a holy, loving, serious man. Dr. Fowler preached his funeral sermon at Whitchurch, on Dan. xii. 3, highly praising him (as he deserved) for wisdom, piety, and peaceableness.

Mr. Samuel Hildersham died near Bromicham, in April, 1674, the only son of Mr. Arthur Hildersham, of Ashby (whose works praise him in the gates) Fellow of Emanuel College, in Cambridge, bachelor of divinity, 1623, settled rector of West-Felton, in Shropshire, in the year 1628, and continued there till silenced by the Act of Uniformity. He was one of the assembly of divines; a father to the sons of the prophets in and about Shropshire. He was learned, loving and charitable, an excellent preacher, an eminent expositor, and very much a gentleman; he was about fourscore years of age when he died. He ordered by his will this inscription upon his grave-stone: *Samuel Hildersham, B. D. Rector of West-Felton, in the county of Salop, 34 years, till August 24, 1662.*

Mr.

Mr. Richard Sadler, my worthy friend and fellow-labourer, died at Whixal, in Prees Parish, April —, 1675. He was born in Worcester; went, when young, with his father into New England; after the wars he returned into England; was ordained at Whixal Chapel, May 16, 1648, and was removed thence to Ludlow. Being turned out there upon the king's coming in, he spent the rest of his days in privacy at Whixal: a man of great piety and moderation.

Mr. Rowland Nevet died at his house near Oswestry, December 8, 1675, and was buried at Morton Chapel. I preached his funeral sermon at Swinny, on 2 Pet. i. 14, *Knowing that I must shortly put off this my tabernacle*: thence shewing that the ministers of Christ must certainly and shortly die. He was born in Hodnet parish, *anno dom.* 1609, brought up at Shrewsbury school, was afterwards of Edmund Hall, in Oxford, commenced master of arts, in the year 1634: he was episcopally ordained; and *anno* 1635, he was presented to the vicarage of Stanton, in Shropshire, where he continued many years, with great success in his ministry. While he was single, he kept house, judging that more for the furtherance of his work among his people, than to table. After the war he removed to Oswestry, where he laboured abundantly in the work of the Lord; and even after he was silenced for nonconformity, he continued among his people there to his dying day, doing what he could, when he might not do what he would. He would say, he thought most of his converting work was done at Oswestry, the first seven years of his being there. He loved to preach, and to hear others preach concerning the great things of religion, redemption, reconciliation, regeneration, &c. for these (said he) are the main matter.

matter. When the plague was at Oswestry, he continued with his people, and preached to them, and it was an opportunity of doing much good.

His conversation from his youth was not only blameless, but holy and pious; he was exemplary for family religion, and great care and industry in the education of his children. He was looked upon as *congregational* in judgment and practice, and was not satisfied to join in the Common Prayer; but he was free to communicate with those that did. It was his judgment, that ministers should be ordained by ministers; and that a minister is not only a minister of the particular congregation in which he labours. He greatly bewailed the divisions of the church, and the intemperate heats of some of all persuasions. He was exceeding kind and loving to his friends, very frequent in pious ejaculations to God. Being often distempered in body, he would say, he was never better than in the pulpit, and that it was the best place he could wish to die in. He often blessed God for a fit of sickness which he had, which he said, he would not have been without for a world, the foundation of his comfort, and hope of heaven being laid then. When he was sometimes much spent with his labours, he would appeal to God, that though he might be wearied in his service, he would never be weary of it. His dying prayer for his children (after many sweet exhortations) was, "That the Mediator's blessing might be the portion of every one of them:" adding, "I charge you all, see to it, that you meet me on the right hand of Christ, at the great day." A little before he died he had this expression, "Go forth (my soul) go forth to meet thy God;" adding by and by, "It is now done; come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." One present saying to him, that he was now going to
receive

receive his reward, he replied, "It is free grace." (Mr. Henry was much importuned to print his sermon at Mr. Nevet's funeral, with some account of his life and death, which he was somewhat inclined to do, but was discouraged by the difficulties of the times, and it was never done. But some materials he had for it, out of which we have collected these hints.)

Mr. Robert Fogg, my old dear friend, was buried at Acton, near Nantwich, April 21, 1676: he died in a good old age, about eighty. He was minister of Bangor, in Flintshire, till after the king came in, and thenceforward to his death was a poor silent nonconformist, but of a bold and zealous spirit: giving good counsel to those about him a little before he died, he had this weighty saying among others, assure yourselves the spirit of God will be underling to no sin.

Mr. Andrew Parsons, sometime minister of Wem, died at London, October 1, 1684. He was born in Devonshire, and was minister there some years before the war; being driven thence to London, he became well known to Mr. Pym, who sent him down to Wem, when that town was garrisoned for the parliament; there he continued in the exercise of his ministry, till the year 1660. He was an active, friendly, generous man, and a moving affecting preacher. Mr. Baxter, in his Life, (part 3, page 94) commends him for a moderate man, and speaks of his being in trouble, for seditious words sworn against him, which were these: preaching from 2 Tim. iii. 13, he said, "The devil was like a king, that courted the soul, and spoke fair till he was gotten into the throne, and then played pranks." The witnesses deposed contrary to the coherence of his discourse, that he said the king was like the devil. He was tried at Shrewsbury before

before my lord Newport, Mr. serjeant Turner and others, May 28, 1662. It was also charged upon him, that he had said, "There was more sin committed now in England in a month, than was heretofore in seven years:" and "that there had been more and better preaching in England for twenty years past, than was ever since the Apostles' days. He had council assigned him, who pleaded that the time limited by the statute in which he was indicted, was expired. The court yielded it was so, allowing twenty-eight days to a month; but they would understand it of thirty days to a month; so he was found guilty, and fined two hundred pound; and ordered to be imprisoned till it should be paid.

Mr. Hugh Rogers, a worthy faithful minister of Jesus Christ, turned out for nonconformity, from Newtown in Montgomeryshire, was buried at Welshpool, March 17, 1679-80. He was looked upon as *congregational*; but his declared judgment was, "That ministers ought to be ordained by ministers, and to give themselves wholly to that work; and that none but ministers have authority to preach and govern in a constituted church; and that Christ's ministers are his ministers in all places; and that where the word of Christ is preached, and his Sacraments administered, there is a true Church." He was a man of excellent converse, and whose peculiar felicity lay in pleasant and edifying discourse.

July 2 and 3, 1680: these two days brought tidings of the death of Mr. Haines, sometime minister of Wem, in Shropshire, and since at New Chapel, in Westminster; and of Mr. Richard Edwards, minister at Oswestry, both worthy conformists, pious, peaceable, and good men, whom I hope, through grace, to meet shortly in heaven. The
Lord

Lord raise up others in their room to be and do better.

Mr. Robert Bosier, my dear friend and kinsman, having just completed the twenty-third year of his age, died of a fever, September 13, 1680, at Mr. Doelittle's house in Islington, whither he was gone but a few weeks before for improvement in learning; being formerly a commoner of Edmund-Hall, in Oxford; and since having spent some years in my family, and designed himself for the service of Christ, in the work of the ministry. He was a young man of pregnant parts, great industry, and exemplary seriousness and piety, and likely to be an eminent instrument of good in his day. His friends and relations had promised themselves much comfort in him; but we know who performeth the thing that is appointed for us, and giveth not account of any of his matters.

Mr. John Malden, my dear and worthy friend, turned out from Newport, in Shropshire, for non-conformity, died at Alkington, near Whitchurch, May 23, 1681: a man of great learning, an excellent Hebrician, and of exemplary piety, and a solid preacher: as he lived so he died, very low in his own eyes; esteeming himself good for nothing, though really good for every thing, which was manifestly a prejudice both to his comfort and to his usefulness. He said, he was far from repenting his being a sufferer against conformity. The relics of so much learning, piety, and humility, I have not seen this great while laid in a grave: but blessed be God we had such a one so long.

Dr. Joshua Maddocks, a beloved physician, our very dear friend and kinsman, died of a fever at Whitchurch, in the midst of his days, July 27, 1682: a very pious man, and especially eminent for meekness; an excellent scholar, and particularly learned in

in the mathematics: he lived much desired, and died as much lamented.

Mr. Thomas Bridge, who had been rector of the higher rectory of Malpas about fifty-seven years, being aged about eighty-two years, was buried at Malpas, October 7, 1682. In his last sickness, which was long, he had appointed Mr. Green, one of the curates there, to preach his funeral-sermon on 1 Tim. i. 16, *Howbeit, for this cause I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might shew forth all long suffering*: and to say nothing in his commendation, but to give a large account of his repentance upon his death-bed, &c. He was a taking, popular preacher^s, preaching often, and

^s *Popular preacher.*] The passage in Mr. Philip Henry's own Diary, upon which the above particulars are founded, stands (notwithstanding the declaration made at the commencement of this chapter) in the following terms.

"Oct. 7. Mr. Thomas Bridge, minister of the higher parsonage of Malpas, near fifty-eight years, aged 82 years, was buried this day. Mr. Green preached. Text, 1 Tim. i. 16. told what he had declared to him in a late fit which he had concerning his repentance; towards his latter end very charitable; a taking, popular, good preacher; preached often, and to the last: could read the smallest print without spectacles, having used glasses in private ever since forty."

The decisive word "good," it will be remarked, is omitted in the printed account. The repentance is there, "upon his death-bed:" but by the M.S. may have respected *former* repentance, as well as *final*. The circumstance of his being "towards his latter end very charitable," that is, (probably) towards the nonconformists, is totally omitted. And where it is said, both in the Diary and Life, that Mr. Bridge was minister of Malpas, for so great a number of years, not a word being mentioned of his having been dispossessed, when the Presbyterians were in power: it may be added, that he was in fact sequestered for many years, though Walker, in his *Sufferings of the Parochial Clergy*, p. 191, gives it only with a "quære," as "not absolutely certain of this sequestration."

For the substance of the above note the Editor is indebted to an obliging communication from the Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Churton.

almost

almost to the last. When old, he could read the smallest print without spectacles.

Mr. William Cook, an aged, painful, faithful minister of Jesus Christ, in Chester, finished his course with joy, July 4, 1684, in the midst of the cloudy and dark day. (See Mr. Baxter's character of him, in his life, part iii. p. 98; and an honourable account given of him by Mr. Samuel Bold, of Steeple, in Dorsetshire, in a large preface to his book of *Man's great Duty*.) He was eminent for great industry, both in public and private work; great self-denial, mortification, and contempt of the world, and a strict adherence to his principles in all the turns of the times. (He was first minister at Wroxal, in Warwickshire; there he published two treatises against the Anabaptists. From thence he was, by the advice of the London ministers, removed to Ashby, in Leicestershire, whence he was turned out for refusing the engagement, and afterwards settled in Chester, where he was minister of Michael's church, till he was outed by the act of Uniformity. He was an active man for sir George Booth, when he made that attempt to bring in the king, in 1659; for which he was brought up a prisoner to London, and continued long under confinement in Lambeth-house; and had not the times turned, had been tried for his life. During the Usurpation, his frequent prayer was, that God would pull down all usurped power, and restore the banished to their right. After he was silenced by the Bartholomew act, he continued to his death in a pastoral relation to a society of many worthy eminent Christians in Chester; though during the heat of the Five-mile Act, he was forced to withdraw to Puddington, in Wirral, where (as in Chester, till king Charles's indulgence) he constantly attended on the public ministry; and he himself

preached in the intervals. He would say sometimes to his friends, when he was in that retirement, that he thought what little peace and quietness there was in this world, God's people enjoyed it in their corners. Soon after he was silenced, he was committed to the common goal of Chester, for preaching in his own house; by the mayor, at the instigation of the then bishop Hall. He was very indefatigable in his ministerial labours, in which he never sought the assistance of any other minister; though while he had liberty he constantly kept a public fast in his congregation every month, as he did also a private fast in his own closet and family every week. He usually set apart one afternoon every week, to visit the families of his congregation, and to catechise their children and servants, and discourse with them personally about their souls: his visits were short and edifying (and he managed them as one that was a great husband of his time) and he seldom or never parted without prayer. He was not free to join in the Common-Prayer, and bore his testimony against prelacy and the ceremonies with something of zeal; but his great piety, integrity, mortification, and charity, recommended him to the respects even of many that differed from him. If any asked his advice to any thing which might draw suffering upon them, he would be very tender, and desire them not to depend upon his judgment; but since it was a matter of suffering, to be *fully persuaded in their own minds*. He was a great scholar, and a hard student to the last, and was far from entangling himself in the affairs of this life, not knowing ought he had, save the bread that he did eat. In worldly matters he was not very conversable, but in discourse of the things of God, none more free and affable, or more ready to do good. He lived and died

died a great example of strict and close walking with God, and a heavenly conversation; and his memory is very precious with many. He died in the seventy-third year of his age. When he lay on his death-bed, an aged friend of his asking him if he had not comfort in reflection upon his labours in the work of God, he presently replied, *I have nothing to boast of.* He was buried in Michael's church, in Chester; and though for some time before he died, such was the heat of the persecution, that he durst not shew his face in the city, yet many considerable persons were very forward to do him honour at his death.)

Mr. Jonathan Roberts, of Llanvair, in Denbighshire, my dear and precious friend, and a faithful minister of Christ, died at Mr. Titus Thomas's house, in West-Felton, and was buried there Sept. 26, 1684. A true Nathaniel, an Israelite indeed, for plainness and integrity; a silent sufferer for his nonconformity, for which he quitted a good living in Denbighshire. He was a learned man, a master of arts of Oxford; he died with comfort in his nonconformity, and with confidence of a return of mercy in God's due time. The summer before he died he had been at Oxford, Cambridge, and London, where he heard and saw that which much confirmed him in his dissent.

Mr. Zechariah Cawdrey, minister of Bartomley, in Cheshire, a learned and godly divine, was buried December 24, 1684; a conformist, and formerly a great sufferer for the king; but in his later times much maligned and reproached by some people for his moderation towards dissenters, for his book of *Preparation for Martyrdom*, and for his zeal in keeping up the monthly lectures at Nantwich and Tarvin. But he is gone to the world of peace, and love, and everlasting praises.

Mr. Titus Thomas, minister of the Independent Congregation in Salop, was buried at Felton, December 10, 1686. He was a worthy, good man, and not so strait laced as some others: we were six nonconformist ministers there at the funeral, and the seventh dead in the midst of us, saying to us, *Therefore be ye also ready.*

Mr. John Cartwright, my worthy friend and brother, a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, was buried at Audlem, in Cheshire, Feb. 17, 1687-8; formerly minister of West-Kerby, in Wirral, afterwards chaplain to the pious lady Wilbraham, at Woodhey.

Mr. Edward Gregg, of Chester, a worthy gentleman, and my dear friend, died July 9, 1689, of a fever, in the midst of his days. He was one that feared God above many, of a meek and quiet spirit, and eminently active and useful in his generation. The Lord is pulling our earthen props from under us, that we might lean upon, and trust in himself alone, and might learn to cease from man.

Mr. Daniel Benyon, of Ash, my dear friend and kinsman, died June 25, 1690; a very serious pious gentleman, and an Israelite indeed, a true lover, and ready benefactor to all good men, especially good ministers. He told me a little before he died, God had made use of me (though most unworthy) as an instrument of his conversion; for which I bless his holy name. He had a long and lingering sickness, which he bore with great patience.

Mrs. Crew, of Utkinton, in Cheshire, an aged servant of the Lord, was buried July 8, 1690. She kept her integrity, and abounded in works of piety and charity to the last, and finished well; to God be praise.

Mrs.

Mrs. Hunt, of Shrewsbury, the relict of colonel Hunt, another rare pattern of zealous piety, abounding charity, and eminent usefulness in her place, finished her course October 23, 1690, after two days sickness.

The reverend, and learned, and holy Mr. Richard Baxter, died at London, December 8, 1691, aged seventy-six, and one month; as much vilified by some, and magnified by others, as most men that ever were; but it is a small thing to be judged of man's day. He was buried at Christ-Church, London, with great honour.

Mr. John Wood, my good friend, died September 19, 1692, at Mitton, in Shropshire, aged about seventy. He was some time fellow of Magdalen-College, in Cambridge, where he was outed for nonconformity: a learned man, but wanted the faculty of communicating; one that feared God, and walked in his integrity to the last; had no certain dwelling place on earth, but I trust hath one in heaven. *Hic tandem requiescit.*

Mr. Richard Steel, my old and dear friend, and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ, died at London, November 16, 1692, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. A man that had been greatly useful in his generation, both in the country and at London.

Mr. Thomas Gilbert died at Oxford, July 15, 1694, formerly minister of Edgmond, in Shropshire, aged eighty-three, a learned good man.

Luke Lloyd, esq. of the Bryn, in Hanmer parish, my aged worthy friend, finished his course with joy, March 31, 1695, being Lord's day. He was in the eighty-seventh year of his age, and had been married almost sixty-nine years to his pious wife (of the same age) who still survives him. He was the glory of our little congregation, the top branch, in
all

all respects, of our small vine, and my friend indeed.

(When he made his will, under the subscription of his name, he wrote, Job xix. 25, 26, 27. On which text of Scripture (*I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c.*) Mr. Henry, at the request of some of his relations, preached a sermon at the licensed house, near Hanmer, some time after his funeral; in which sermon, he bore a very honourable testimony to that worthy gentleman, who (as he saith) went to heaven without a blot, held fast his integrity, and was lively and zealous in the Christian profession to the end of his days. He was very exemplary for his love to the ordinances of God, and his delight in attending on them, his living upon Christ for strength and righteousness, his great humility and condescending obliging carriage in all his converse. He was a man of great courage and resolution; and yet in prayer, tender and self-abasing to admiration, often melting into tears in the confession of sin; and his charity and moderation were known unto all men.

He lived and died a pattern of piety, and primitive Christianity, and still brought forth fruit in old age; his vigour, both of body and mind, being wonderfully preserved to the last; and by the grace of God he finished well, and his sun set under no cloud. Such good men are intended to be to us, as the star that led the wise men to Christ; and as far as they do so, we are to follow them. (*Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.*)

Mr. Samuel Taylor, an aged minister of Jesus Christ, and my true friend and fellow-labourer, died at Wem, June 26, 1695. He was turned out from Edstaston Chapel, near Wem, by the act of Uniformity; choosing rather to beg his bread than
to

to wrong his conscience. He continued in Wem ever since, and preached there as his strength and liberty would permit. He had his house burnt in the dreadful fire that was there in 1676, and had a child born that very night. He was a man of a very tender spirit, humble and low in his own eyes, of approved integrity, and finished well. (Mr. Henry preached his funeral-sermon at Wem, on 2 Cor. iv. 7, *We have this treasure in earthen vessels.*)

September 21, 1695, I heard of the death of two holy, aged Bartholomew-witnesses, Mr. Richard Mayo, of London, and Mr. Henry Newcome, of Manchester. (Psalm xii. 1.)

Mr. Edward Lawrence, of London, my dear and worthy friend, and a faithful minister and witness of the Lord Jesus, died November —, 1695, about the seventieth year of his age. Born at Moston, in Shropshire, of Magdalen College, in Cambridge; turned out from Baschurch, in Shropshire, by the act of Uniformity, in 1662; was driven from Whitchurch by the violent prosecution of the Conventicle Act, in 1670; when he removed to London, and there spent the rest of his days.

He had many children, but great affliction in some of them, which gave occasion to his book entitled, *Parents' Groans over their wicked Children*. (It is a very high but just character, which Mr. Vincent hath given of him in his sermon at his funeral; of which let me take leave to add some few instances that occur to us, which may be instructive, besides those which we have already mentioned occasionally. At his meals, he would often speak of using God's creatures as his witnesses that he is good; and we cannot conceive how much good our God doth every moment. An expression of his great regard to justice, was that common
caution

caution he gave his children, "tremble to borrow two-pence;" and of his meekness and tenderness this, "make no man angry nor sad." He often said, "I adore the wisdom of God that hath not seen meet to trust me with riches." When he saw little children playing in the streets, he would often lift up his heart in an ejaculatory prayer to God for them, calling them the seed of the next generation. When his friend chose to ride the back way into town, he pleasantly checked him, telling him, that his heart hath been often refreshed, when he hath looked out at the window and seen a good man go along the streets. He used to say, that Cromwell did more real prejudice to religion by his hypocrisy, than king Charles the Second did, that never pretended to it. As also, that he feared the sins of the land more than the French.

A friend of his in the country, writing to him not long before he died, desired his thoughts concerning the differences among the London Dissenters; to which he returned this answer:—"I can say little concerning our divisions; which, when some men's judgments and tempers are healed, will be also healed. But when will that be? They that have most holiness are most peaceable, and have most comfort."

M. S.

PHILIPPUS HENRY, de Broad-Oak, in comitatu Flint, A.M.
 Sacri minister evangelii; pastor olim Worthenburiensis;
 In aulâ regiâ natus piis et honestis parentibus;
 Scholæ Westmonasteriensis, indèq. ædis Christi Oxon.
 Alumnus regius:
 Vir priscâ pietate et verè Christianâ,
 Judicio subacto et limato,
 Memoriâ præstanti, magno et sæcundo ingenio,
 Eruditione perpolitâ, summo animi candore, morum venustate
 Inprimis spectabilis, et in exemplum natus:
 Cui sacra semper sua fides aliorumque fama:
 Divini numinis cultor assiduus;
 Divini verbi interpret exquisitissimus;
 Aliorum affectus movere non minùs pollens,
 Quàm suis moderari:
 Concionando pariter ac vivendo palàm exhibens
 Christi legem et exemplar Christum:
 Prudens peritusque rerum; lenis, pacificus, hospitalis,
 Ad pietatis omnia charitatisque officia usque paratus;
 Suis jucundus; omnibus humanus;
 Continuis evangelii laboribus succumbens corpus,
 Nec tantæ jam par ampliùs animæ,
 In dormitorium hîc juxtâ positum demisit,
 Jun. 24°. Anno Dom. MDCXCVI. ætatis LXV.

Viro opt. multumque desiderato
 mœrens posuit gener ejus⁹ J. T. M. D.

⁹ Gener ejus.] Dr. Tylston, physician. See Tong's Life of
 Matthew Henry, p. 109.

ADVERTISEMENT

EARL OF ROCHESTER.

DECEIVE not yourselves : God's mercy cannot be made a patron for any man's impiety. The purpose of it is, to bring us to repentance ; and God will do it by the mercies of his mercy, or by the mercies of his judgments.

BISHOP TAYLOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following Narrative is reprinted intire from *Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Right Hon. John Earl of Rochester, who died the 26th of July, 1680: written by his own direction on his death-bed, by Gilbert Burnet, D. D. London, 1680; a volume, which, Doctor Johnson has declared in his *Lives of the Poets*, that the Critic ought to read for its elegance, the Philosopher for its arguments, and the Saint for its piety.*

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its arguments, and the Saint for its piety.

PREFACE.

THE celebrating the praises of the dead, is an argument so worn out by long and frequent use, and now becomes so nauseous, by the flattery that usually attends it, that it is no wonder if funeral orations, or panegyrics, are more considered for the elegance of style, and fineness of wit, than for the authority they carry with them as to the truth of matters of fact. And yet I am not hereby deterred from meddling with this kind of argument, nor from handling it with all the plainness I can; delivering only what I myself heard and saw, without any borrowed ornament. I do easily foresee how many will be engaged for the support of their impious maxims and immoral practices, to disparage what I am to write. Others will censure it because it comes from one of my profession, too many supposing us to be induced to frame such discourses, for carrying on what they are pleased to call *our trade*. Some will think I dress it up too artificially, and others, that I present it too plain and naked.

But being resolved to govern myself by the exact rules of truth, I shall be less concerned in the censures I may fall under. It may seem liable to great exception, that I should disclose so many things, that were discovered to me, if not under the seal of confession, yet under the confidence of friendship; but this noble Lord himself not only released me from all obligation of this kind, when I waited on him in his last sickness, a few

days before he died, but gave it me in charge not to spare him in any thing which I thought might be of use to the living; and was not ill pleased to be laid open, as well in the worst as in the best and last part of his life; being so sincere in his repentance, that he was not unwilling to take shame to himself, by suffering his faults to be exposed for the benefit of others.

I write with one great disadvantage, that I cannot reach his chief design, without mentioning some of his faults: but I have touched them as tenderly as the occasion would bear: and I am sure with much more softness than he desired, or would have consented unto, had I told him how I intended to manage this part. I have related nothing with personal reflections on any others, concerned with him; wishing rather that they themselves reflecting on the sense he had of his former disorders, may be thereby led to forsake their own, than that they should be any ways reproached by what I write: and therefore though he used very few reserves with me, as to his course of life, yet since others had a share in most parts of it, I shall relate nothing but what more immediately concerned himself: and shall say no more of his faults, than is necessary to illustrate his repentance.

The occasion that led me into so particular a knowledge of him, was an intimation given me by a gentleman of his acquaintance, of his desire to see me. This was some time in October, 1679, when he was slowly recovering out of a great disease. He had understood that I often attended on one well known to him, that died the summer before. He was also then entertaining himself in that low state of his health, with the first part of *the History of the Reformation* then newly come out,

out, with which he seemed not ill pleased; and we had accidentally met in two or three places some time before. These were the motives that led him to call for my company. After I had waited on him once or twice, he grew into that freedom with me, as to open to me all his thoughts, both of religion and morality; and to give me a full view of his past life; and seemed not uneasy at my frequent visits. So till he went from London, which was in the beginning of April, I waited on him often. As soon as I heard how ill he was, and how much he was touched with the sense of his former life, I writ to him, and received from him an answer, that without my knowledge, was printed since his death; from a copy which one of his servants conveyed to the press. In it there is so undeserved a value put on me, that it had been very indecent for me to have published it; yet that must be attributed to his civility and way of breeding: and indeed he was particularly known to so few of the clergy, that the good opinion he had of me, is to be imputed only to his unacquaintance with others.

My end of writing is so to discharge the last commands this lord left on me, as that it may be effectual to awaken those who run on to all the excesses of riot; and that in the midst of those heats, which their lusts and passions raise in them, they may be a little wrought on by so great an instance, of one who had run round the whole circle of luxury; and as Solomon says of himself, *Whatsoever his eyes desired, he kept it not from them; and withheld his heart from no joy.* But when he looked back on all that on which he had wasted his time and strength, he esteemed it *vanity and vexation of spirit.* Though he had both as much

natural wit, and as much acquired by learning, and both as much improved with thinking and study, as perhaps any libertine of the age; yet when he reflected on all his former courses, even before his mind was illuminated with better thoughts, he counted them madness and folly. But when the powers of religion came to operate on him, then he added a detestation to the contempt he formerly had of them, suitable to what became a sincere penitent; and expressed himself in so clear and calm a manner, so sensible of his failings towards his Maker and his Redeemer, that as it wrought not a little on those that were about him, so, I hope the making it public may have a more general influence, chiefly on those on whom his former conversation might have had ill effects.

I have endeavoured to give his character as fully as I could take it: for I who saw him only in one light, in a sedate and quiet temper, when he was under a great decay of strength and loss of spirits, cannot give his picture with that life and advantage that others may, who knew him when his parts were more bright and lively: yet the composure he was then in, may perhaps be supposed to balance any abatement of his usual vigour which the declination of his health brought him under. I have written this discourse with as much care, and have considered it as narrowly as I could. I am sure I have said nothing but truth; I have done it slowly, and often used my second thoughts¹ in it, not being so much concerned in the

¹ *Second thoughts.*] The book was probably revised also by his friend Tillotson; as Dr. Buit remarks in his Life of that prelate. "The Dean appears to have revised and improved that book, since it concludes almost in the exact words of his letter

the censures which might fall on myself, as cautious that nothing should pass, that might obstruct my only design of writing, which is the doing what I can towards the reforming a loose and lewd age. And if such a signal instance concurring with all the evidence that we have for our most holy faith, has no effect on those who are running the same course, it is much to be feared they are given up to a reprobate sense.

letter to Mr. Nelson, of the 2d of August, that God took pity on the Earl, and seeing the sincerity of his repentance, would try and venture him no more in circumstances of temptation, perhaps too hard for human frailty." P. 73.

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 show that nothing should pass that might obstruct
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Printed by J. N. Nelson, of the 24 of Abchurch Lane, London.
 On the 1st, and seeing the necessity of the reprint, I would
 the and venture him no more in the character of a reprint,
 perhaps too hard for human frailty, &c. &c.

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EARL OF ROCHESTER.

JOHN WILMOT, earl of Rochester, was born in April, *Anno Dom.* 1648. His father was Henry, earl of Rochester, but best known by the title of the lord Wilmot, who bore so great a part in all the late wars, that mention is often made of him in the history; and had the chief share in the honour of the preservation of his majesty that now reigns, after Worcester fight, and the conveying him from place to place, till he happily escaped into France: but dying before the king's return, he left his son little other inheritance, but the honour and title derived to him, with the pretensions such eminent services gave him to the king's favour. These were carefully managed by the great prudence and discretion of his mother, a daughter of that noble and ancient family of the St. Johns, of Wiltshire; so that his education was carried on in all things suitably to his quality.

When he was at school he was an extraordinary proficient at his book: and those shining parts which have since appeared with so much lustre, began then to shew themselves. He acquired the Latin to such perfection, that to his dying day he retained a great relish of the fineness and beauty of that tongue, and was exactly versed in the incomparable authors that writ about Augustus's time, whom he read often with that peculiar delight which the greatest wits have ever found in those studies.

When

When he went to the University the general joy which over-ran the whole nation upon his majesty's restoration, but was not regulated with that sobriety and temperance, that became a serious gratitude to God for so great a blessing, produced some of its ill effects on him. He began to love these disorders too much. His tutor was that eminent and pious divine, Dr. Blanford, afterwards promoted to the sees of Oxford and Worcester: and under his inspection, he was committed to the more immediate care of Mr. Phineas Berry, a fellow of Wadham College, a very learned and good-natured man; whom he afterwards ever used with much respect, and rewarded him as became a great man. But the humour of that time wrought so much on him, that he broke off the course of his studies; to which no means could ever effectually recall him; till when he was in Italy, his governor, Dr. Balfour, a learned and worthy man, now a celebrated physician in Scotland, his native country, drew him to read such books as were most likely to bring him back to love learning and study: and he often acknowledged to me, in particular three days before his death, how much he was obliged to love and honour this his governor, to whom he thought he owed more than to all the world, next after his parents, for his great fidelity and care of him, while he was under his trust. But no part of it affected him more sensibly, than that he engaged him by many tricks (so he expressed it) to delight in books and reading; so that ever after he took occasion, in the intervals of those woeful extravagancies that consumed most of his time, to read much: and though the time was generally but indifferently employed, for the choice of the subjects of his studies was not always good, yet the habitual love of knowledge, together with these fits of study, had much awakened

awakened his understanding, and prepared him for better things, when his mind should be so far changed as to relish them.

He came from his travels in the eighteenth year of his age, and appeared at court with as great advantages as most ever had. He was a graceful and well shaped person, tall and well made, if not a little too slender. He was exactly well bred, and what by a modest behaviour natural to him, what by a civility become almost as natural, his conversation was easy and obliging. He had a strange vivacity of thought, and vigour of expression: his wit had a subtilty and sublimity both, that were scarce imitable. His style was clear and strong: when he used figures they were very lively, and yet far enough out of the common road. He had made himself master of the ancient and modern wit, and of the modern French and Italian, as well as the English. He loved to talk and write of speculative matters, and did it with so fine a thread, that even those who hated the subjects that his fancy ran upon, yet could not but be charmed with his way of treating of them. Boileau among the French, and Cowley among the English wits, were those he admired most. Sometimes other men's thoughts mixed with his composures, but that flowed rather from the impressions they made on him when he read them, by which they came to return upon him as his own thoughts, than that he servilely copied from any: for few men ever had a bolder flight of fancy, more steadily governed by judgment, than he had. No wonder a young man so made, and so improved, was very acceptable in a court.

Soon after his coming thither he laid hold on the first occasion that offered to shew his readiness to hazard his life in the defence and service of his country. In winter 1665, he went with the earl of
Sandwich

Sandwich to sea, when he was sent to lie for the Dutch East-India fleet; and was in the *Revenge*, commanded by sir Thomas Tiddiman, when the attack was made on the port of Bergen, in Norway, the Dutch ships having got into that port. It was as desperate an attempt as ever was made. During the whole action, the earl of Rochester shewed as brave and as resolute a courage as was possible. A person of honour told me he heard the lord Clifford, who was in the same ship, often magnify his courage at that time very highly. Nor did the rigours of the season, the hardness of the voyage, and the extreme danger he had been in, deter him from running the like on the very next occasion: for the summer following he went to sea again, without communicating his design to his nearest relations. He went aboard the ship commanded by sir Edward Spragge, the day before the great sea-fight of that year. Almost all the volunteers that were in the same ship were killed. Mr. Middleton (brother to sir Hugh Middleton) was shot in his arms. During the action, sir Edward Spragge not being satisfied with the behaviour of one of the captains, could not easily find a person that would cheerfully venture through so much danger, to carry his commands to that captain. This lord offered himself to the service; and went in a little boat, through all the shot, and delivered his message, and returned back to sir Edward: which was much commended by all that saw it. He thought it necessary to begin his life with these demonstrations of his courage in an element and way of fighting, which is acknowledged to be the greatest trial of clear and undaunted valour.

He had so intirely laid down the intemperance that was growing on him before his travels, that at his return he hated nothing more. But falling into
company

company that loved these excesses, he was, though not without difficulty, and by many steps, brought back to it again. And the natural heat of his fancy, being inflamed by wine, made him so extravagantly pleasant, that many, to be more diverted by that humour, studied to engage him deeper and deeper in intemperance: which at length did so entirely subdue him, that, as he told me, for five years together he was continually drunk: not all the while under the visible effect of it, but his blood was so inflamed, that he was not in all that time cool enough to be perfectly master of himself. This led him to say and do many wild and unaccountable things. By this, he said, he had broke the firm constitution of his health, that seemed so strong, that nothing was too hard for it; and he had suffered so much in his reputation, that he almost despaired to recover it. There were two principles in his natural temper, that being heightened by that heat, carried him to great excesses: a violent love of pleasure, and a disposition to extravagant mirth. The one involved him in great sensuality: the other led him to many odd adventures and frolicks, in which he was oft in hazard of his life: the one being the same irregular appetite in his mind, that the other was in his body, which made him think nothing diverting that was not extravagant. And though in cold blood he was a generous and good-natured man, yet he would go far in his heats, after any thing that might turn to a jest or matter of diversion. He said to me, he never improved his interest at court, to do a premeditate mischief to other persons. Yet he laid out his wit very freely in libels and satires, in which he had a peculiar talent of mixing his wit with his malice, and fitting both with such apt words, that men were tempted to be pleased with them.

them. From thence his composures came to be easily known, but few had such a way of tempering these together as he had; so that when any thing extraordinary that way came out, as a child is fathered sometimes by its resemblance, so was it laid at his door as its parent and author.

These exercises in the course of his life were not always equally pleasant to him. He had often sad intervals and severe reflections on them: and though then he had not these awakened in him from any deep principle of religion, yet the horror that nature raised in him, especially in some sicknesses², made him too easy to receive some ill

² *In some sicknesses.*] It was in one of these, that he thus concludes a letter to one of his nearest friends.

“But it is a *miraculous thing* (as *the wise* have it) when a man, half in the grave, cannot leave off playing the fool and the buffoon. But so it falls out to my comfort. For at this moment I am in a damned relapse, brought by a fever, the stone, and some ten diseases more, which have deprived me of the power of crawling, which I happily enjoyed some days ago: and now, I fear, I must fall; that it may be fulfilled which was long since written for instruction, in a good old ballad:

But he who lives not wise and sober,
Falls with the leaf still in October.

About which time, in all probability, there may be a period added to the ridiculous being of your humble servant,

ROCHESTER.”

Familiar letters written by the Right Hon. John, late earl of Rochester, and several other persons of honour, A. D. 1697, p. 13. Unhappy man! Let the reader be consoled and instructed in contrasting with the above an extract from the letter of another individual, written in destitution and imprisonment, to one of *his* nearest friends. “I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith. Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day.” (2 Tim. iv. 6, &c.)

principles,

principles, which others endeavoured to possess him with; so that he was too soon brought to set himself to secure, and fortify his mind against that, by dispossessing it all he could of the belief or apprehensions of religion. The licentiousness of his temper, with the briskness of his wit, disposed him to love the conversation of those who divided their time between lewd actions and irregular mirth; and so he came to bend his wit, and direct his studies and endeavours to support and strengthen these ill principles both in himself and others.

An accident fell out after this, which confirmed him more in these courses. When he went to sea in the 1665, there happened to be in the same ship with him Mr. Montague and another gentleman of quality. These two, the former especially, seemed persuaded that they should never return into England. Mr. Montague said, "he was sure of it:" the other was not so positive. The earl of Rochester, and the last of these, entered into a formal engagement, not without ceremonies of religion, that if either of them died, he should appear, and give the other notice of the future state, if there was any. But Mr. Montague would not enter into the bond. When the day came that they thought to have taken the Dutch fleet in the port of Bergen, Mr. Montague, though he had such a strong presage in his mind of his approaching death, yet he generously staid all the while in the place of greatest danger. The other gentleman signalized his courage in a most undaunted manner, till near the end of the action; when he fell on a sudden into such a trembling that he could scarce stand: and Mr. Montague going to him to hold him up, as they were in each other's arms, a cannon-bali killed him outright, and carried away Mr. Montague's belly, so that he died within an hour after. The earl

earl of Rochester told me that these presages they had in their minds made some impression on him, that there were separated beings: and that the soul, either by a natural sagacity, or some secret notice communicated to it, had a sort of divination: but that gentleman's never appearing was a great snare to him, during the rest of his life. Though when he told me this, he could not but acknowledge, it was an unreasonable thing for him, to think, that beings in another state were not under such laws and limits, that they could not command their own motions, but as the supreme power should order them: and that one who had so corrupted the natural principles of truth as he had, had no reason to expect that such an extraordinary thing should be done for his conviction.

He told me of another odd presage that one had of his approaching death in the lady Warre, his mother-in-law's house. The chaplain had dreamt that such a day he should die; but being by all the family put out of the belief of it, he had almost forgot it: till the evening before at supper, there being thirteen at table, according to a fond conceit that one of these must soon die, one of the young ladies pointed to him, that he was to die. He remembering his dream fell into some disorder; and the lady Warre reproving him for his superstition, he said, "he was confident he was to die before morning," but he being in perfect health, it was not much minded. It was Saturday night, and he was to preach next day. He went to his chamber and sat up late, as appeared by the candle, and he had been preparing his notes for his sermon, but was found dead in his bed the next morning.

These things, he said, made him inclined to believe, the soul was a substance distinct from matter:

matter: and this often returned into his thoughts. But that which perfected his persuasion about it, was, that in the sickness which brought him so near death, before I first knew him, when his spirits were so low and spent, that he could not move nor stir, and he did not think to live an hour; he said, his reason and judgment were so clear and strong, that from thence he was fully persuaded that death was not the spending or dissolution of the soul; but only the separation of it from matter. He had in that sickness great remorse for his past life, but he afterwards told me, they were rather general and dark horrors, than any convictions of sinning against God. He was sorry he had lived so as to waste his strength so soon; or that he had brought such an ill name upon himself; and had an agony in his mind about it, which he knew not well how to express: but at such times, though he complied with his friends in suffering divines to be sent for, he said, he had no great mind to it: and that it was but a piece of his breeding, to desire them to pray by him, in which he joined little himself.

As to the Supreme Being, he had always some impression of one: and professed often to me, that he had never known an entire atheist, who fully believed there was no God. Yet when he explained his notion of this Being, it amounted to no more than a vast power, that had none of the attributes of goodness or justice, we ascribe to the Deity. These were his thoughts about *religion*, as himself told me.

For *morality*, he freely owned to me, that though he talked of it, as a fine thing, yet this was only because he thought it a decent way of speaking; and that as they went always in cloaths, though in their frolicks they would have chosen sometimes to have

have gone naked, if they had not feared the people; so though some of them found it necessary for human life to talk of morality, yet he confessed they cared not for it, further than the reputation of it was necessary for their credit, and affairs; of which he gave me many instances; as their professing and swearing friendship, where they hated mortally; their oaths and imprecations in their addresses to women, which they intended never to make good; the pleasure they took in defaming innocent persons; and spreading false reports of some, perhaps in revenge, because they could not engage them to comply with their ill designs. The delight they had in making people quarrel; their unjust usage of their creditors, and putting them off by any deceitful promise they could invent, that might deliver them from present importunity. So that in detestation of these courses he would often break forth into such hard expressions concerning himself as would be indecent for another to repeat.

Such had been his principles and practices in a course of many years, which had almost quite extinguished the natural propensities in him to justice and virtue. He would often go into the country, and be for some months wholly employed in study, or the sallies of his wit; which he came to direct chiefly to satire. And this he often defended to me; by saying there were some people that could not be kept in order, or admonished but in this way. I replied, that it might be granted that a grave way of satire was sometimes no unprofitable way of reproof. Yet they who used it only out of spite, and mixed lies with truth, sparing nothing that might adorn their poems, or gratify their revenge, could not excuse that way of reproach, by which the innocent often suffer:
since

since the most malicious things, if wittily expressed, might stick to and blemish the best men in the world, and the malice of a libel could hardly consist with the charity of an admonition. To this he answered, a man could not write with life, unless he were heated by revenge: for to make a satire without resentments, upon the cold notions of philosophy, was as if a man would in cold blood, cut mens' throats who had never offended him: and he said, the lies in these libels came often in as ornaments that could not be spared without spoiling the beauty of the poem.

For his other studies, they were divided between the comical and witty writings of the ancients and moderns, the Roman authors, and books of physic, which the ill state of health he was fallen into, made more necessary to himself, and which qualified him for an odd adventure, which I shall but just mention. Being under an unlucky accident, which obliged him to keep out of the way, he disguised himself, so that his nearest friends could not have known him, and set up in Tower-street for an Italian mountebank, where he practised physic for some weeks not without success. In his latter years, he read books of history more. He took pleasure to disguise himself, as a *porter*, or as a *beggar*; sometimes to follow some mean amours, which, for the variety of them, he affected: at other times, merely for diversion, he would go about in odd shapes, in which he acted his part so naturally, that even those who were in the secret, and saw him in these shapes, could perceive nothing by which he might be discovered.

I have now made the description of his former life, and principles, as fully as I thought necessary, to answer my end in writing; and yet with those reserves, that I hope I have given no just
cause

cause of offence to any. I have said nothing but what I had from his own mouth, and have avoided the mentioning of the more particular passages of his life, of which he told me not a few: but since others were concerned in them, whose good only I design, I will say nothing that may either provoke or blemish them. It is their reformation, and not their disgrace, I desire. This tender consideration of others has made me suppress many remarkable and useful things, he told me: but finding that though I should name none, yet I must at least relate such circumstances, as would give too great occasion for the reader to conjecture concerning the persons intended, right or wrong, either of which were inconvenient enough, I have chosen to pass them quite over. But I hope those that know how much they were engaged with him in his ill courses, will be somewhat touched with this tenderness I express towards them; and be thereby the rather induced to reflect on their ways, and to consider without prejudice or passion what sense this noble lord had of *their* case, when he came at last seriously to reflect upon *his own*.

I now turn to those parts of this narrative, wherein I myself bore some share, and which I am to deliver upon the observations I made, after a long and free conversation with him for some months. I was not long in his company, when he told me, he should treat me with more freedom than he had ever used to men of my profession. He would conceal none of his principles from me, but lay his thoughts open without any disguise; nor would he do it to maintain debate, or shew his wit, but plainly tell me what stuck with him; and protested to me, that he was not so engaged to his old maxims, as to resolve not to change, but that if he could be convinced, he would choose rather
to

to be of another mind. He said, he would impartially weigh what I should lay before him, and tell me freely when it did convince, and when it did not. He expressed this disposition of mind to me in a manner so frank, that I could not but believe him, and be much taken with his way of discourse: so we entered into almost all the parts of natural and revealed religion, and of morality. He seemed pleased, and in a great measure satisfied, with what I said upon many of these heads: And though our freest conversation was when we were alone, yet upon several occasions, other persons were witnesses to it. I understood from many hands that my company was not distasteful to him, and that the subjects about which we talked most were not unacceptable: and he expressed himself often, not ill pleased with many things I said to him, and particularly when I visited him in his last sickness, so that I hope it may not be altogether unprofitable to publish the substance of those matters about which we argued so freely, with our reasoning upon them: and perhaps what had some effects on him, may be not altogether ineffectual upon others. I followed him with such arguments as I saw were most likely to prevail with him: and my not urging other reasons, proceeded not from any distrust I had of their force, but from the necessity of using those that were most proper for him. He was then in a low state of health, and seemed to be slowly recovering of a great disease. He was in the milk-diet, and apt to fall into hysterical fits; any accident weakened him; so that he thought he could not live long; and when he went from London, he said, he believed he should never come to town more. Yet during his being in town he was so well, that he went often abroad, and had great vivacity of spirit. So that he was

under no such decay, as either darkened or weakened his understanding; nor was he any way troubled with the spleen, or vapours, or under the power of melancholy. What he was then, compared to what he had been formerly, I could not so well judge, who had seen him but twice before. Others have told me they perceived no difference in his parts. This I mention more particularly, that it may not be thought that melancholy, or the want of spirits, made him more inclined to receive any impressions: for indeed I never discovered any such thing in him.

Having thus opened the way to the heads of our discourse, I shall next mention them. The *three* chief things we talked about, were *morality, natural religion, and revealed religion, Christianity* in particular. For *morality* he confessed, he saw the necessity of it, both for the government of the world, and for the preservation of health, life and friendship: and was very much ashamed of his former practices, rather because he had made himself a beast, and brought pain and sickness on his body, and had suffered much in his reputation, than from any deep sense of a Supreme Being, or another state: but so far this went with him, that he resolved firmly to change the course of his life; which he thought he should effect by the study of *philosophy*, and had not a few no less solid than pleasant notions concerning the folly and madness of vice: but he confessed he had no remorse for his past actions, as offences against God, but only as injuries to himself and to mankind.

Upon this subject I shewed him the defects of *philosophy*, for reforming the world: that it was a matter of speculation, which but few either had the leisure, or the capacity to enquire into. But the principle that must reform mankind, must be obvious

obvious to every man's understanding. That philosophy in matters of morality, beyond the great lines of our duty, had no very certain fixed rule, but in the lesser offices and instances of our duty went much by the fancies of men and customs of nations, and consequently could not have authority enough to bear down the propensities of nature, appetite or passion: for which I instanced in these two points; the *one* was, about that maxim of the Stoics, to extirpate all sort of passion and concern for any thing. That, take it by one hand, seemed desirable, because if it could be accomplished, it would make all the accidents of life easy; but I think it cannot, because nature after all our striving against it, will still return to itself: yet on the other hand it dissolved the bond of nature and friendship, and slackened industry, which will move but dully, without an inward heat: and if it delivered a man from many troubles, it deprived him of the chief pleasures of life, which rise from friendship. The *other* was concerning the restraint of pleasure, how far that was to go. Upon this he told me the two maxims of his morality then were, that he should do nothing to the hurt of any other, or that might prejudice his own health: and he thought that all pleasure, when it did not interfere with these, was to be indulged, as the gratification of our natural appetites. It seemed unreasonable to imagine these were put into a man only to be restrained, or curbed to such a narrowness. This he applied to the free use of wine and women.

To this I answered, that if appetites being natural, was an argument for the indulging them, then the revengeful might as well allege it for murder, and the covetous for stealing; whose appetites are no less keen on those objects; and yet it is ac-

known that these appetites ought to be curbed. If the difference is urged from the injury that another person receives, the injury is as great, if a man's wife is defiled, or his daughter corrupted: and it is impossible for a man to let his appetites loose to vagrant lusts, and not to transgress in these particulars: so there was no curing the disorders, that must arise from thence, but by regulating these appetites. And why should we not as well think that God intended our brutish and sensual appetites should be governed by our reason, as that the fierceness of beasts should be managed and tamed, by the wisdom, and for the use of man? so that it is no real absurdity to grant that appetites were put into men, on purpose to exercise their reason in the restraint and government of them: which to be able to do, ministers a higher and more lasting pleasure to a man, than to give them their full scope and range. And if other rules of philosophy be observed, such as the avoiding those objects that stir passion; nothing raises higher passions than ungoverned lust; nothing darkens the understanding, and depresses a man's mind more; nor is any thing managed with more frequent returns of other immoralities, such as oaths and imprecations, which are only intended to compass what is desired. The expence that is necessary to maintain these irregularities makes a man false in his other dealings. All this he freely confessed was true. Upon which I urged, that if it was reasonable for a man to regulate his appetite in things which he knew were hurtful to him; was it not as reasonable for God to prescribe a regulating of those appetites, whose unrestrained course did produce such mischievous effects? that it could not be denied, but doing to others what we would have others do unto us, was a just rule. Those
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men then that knew how extreme sensible they themselves would be of the dishonour of their families in the case of their wives or daughters, must needs condemn themselves, for doing that which they could not bear from another. And if the peace of mankind, and the entire satisfaction of our whole life, ought to be one of the chief measures of our actions, then let all the world judge, whether a man that confines his appetite, and lives contented at home, is not much happier, than those that let their desires run after forbidden objects. The thing being granted to be better in itself, then the question falls between the restraint of appetite in some instances, and the freedom of a man's thoughts, the soundness of his health, his application to affairs, with the easiness of his whole life, whether the one is not to be done before the other? As to the difficulty of such a restraint, though it is not easy to be done when a man allows himself many liberties, in which it is not possible to stop; yet those who avoid the occasions that may kindle these impure flames, and keep themselves well employed, find the victory and dominion over them no such impossible, or hard matter, as may seem at first view. So that though the philosophy and morality of this point were plain; yet there is not strength enough in that principle to subdue nature, and appetite. Upon this I urged, that morality could not be a strong thing, unless a man were determined by a law within himself; for if he only measured himself by decency, or the laws of the land, this would reach him only to use such caution in his ill practices, that they should not break out too visibly; but would never carry him to an inward and universal probity: that virtue was of so complicated a nature, that unless a man came entirely within its
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discipline, he could not adhere stedfastly to any one precept: for vices are often made necessary supports to one another. That this cannot be done, either steadily, or with any satisfaction, unless the mind does inwardly comply with, and delight in the dictates of virtue; and that could not be effected, except a man's nature were internally regenerated, and changed by a higher principle: till that came about corrupt nature would be strong, and philosophy but feeble: especially when it struggled with such appetites or passions as were much kindled, or deeply rooted in the constitution of one's body. This, he said, sounded to him like enthusiasm, or canting: he had no notion of it, and so could not understand it. He comprehended the dictates of reason and philosophy, in which as the mind became much conversant, there would soon follow as he believed, a greater easiness in obeying its precepts. I told him on the other hand, that all his speculations of philosophy would not serve him in any stead, to the reforming of his nature and life, till he applied himself to God for inward assistances. It was certain, that the impressions made in his reason governed him, as they were lively presented to him: but these are so apt to slip out of our memory, and we so apt to turn our thoughts from them, and at some times the contrary impressions are so strong, that let a man set up a reasoning in his mind against them, he finds that celebrated saying of the Poet,

Video meliora proboque

Deteriora sequor,

I see what is better and approve it; but follow what is worse,

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to be all that philosophy will amount to. Whereas those who upon such occasions apply themselves to God, by earnest prayer, feel a disengagement from such impressions, and themselves endued with a power to resist them. So that those bonds which formerly held them, fall off.

This he said must be the effect of a heat in nature: it was only the strong diversion of the thoughts, that gave the seeming victory, and he did not doubt but if one could turn to a problem in Euclid, or to write a copy of verses, it would have the same effect. To this I answered, that if such methods did only divert the thoughts, there might be some force in what he said: but if they not only drove out such inclinations, but begat impressions contrary to them, and brought men into a new disposition and habit of mind; then he must confess there was somewhat more than a diversion, in these changes, which were brought on our minds by true devotion. I added, that reason and experience were the things that determined our persuasions: that as experience without reason may be thought the delusion of our fancy, so reason without experience had not so convincing an operation: but these two meeting together, must needs give a man all the satisfaction he can desire. He could not say, it was unreasonable to believe that the Supreme Being *might* make some thoughts stir in our minds with more or less force, as it pleased: especially the force of these motions, being, for the most part, according to the impression that was made on our brains: which, that power that directed the whole frame of nature, could make grow deeper as it pleased. It was also reasonable to suppose God a being of such goodness that he would give his assistance to such as desired it. For though he might upon some greater

greater occasions in an extraordinary manner turn some people's minds; yet since he had endued man with a faculty of reason, it is fit that men should employ that, as far as they could; and beg his assistance: which certainly they can do. All this seemed reasonable, and at least probable. Now good men who felt upon their frequent applications to God in prayer, a freedom from those ill impressions, that formerly subdued them; an inward love to virtue and true goodness; an easiness and delight in all the parts of holiness, which was fed and cherished in them by a seriousness in prayer, and did languish as that went off; had as real a perception of an inward strength in their minds, that did rise and fall with true devotion, as they perceived the strength of their bodies increased or abated, according as they had or wanted good nourishment.

After many discourses upon this subject, he still continued to think all was the effect of fancy. He said, that he understood nothing of it, but acknowledged that he thought they were very happy whose fancies were under the power of such impressions; since they had somewhat on which their thoughts rested and centered. But when I saw him in his last sickness, he then told me, he had another sense of what we had talked concerning prayer and inward assistances.

This subject led us to discourse of God, and of the notion of *religion in general*. He believed there was a Supreme Being. He could not think the world was made by chance, and the regular course of nature seemed to demonstrate the eternal power of its author. This, he said, he could never shake off; but when he came to explain his notion of the Deity, he said, he looked on it as a vast power that wrought every thing by the necessity of
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of its nature; and thought that God had none of those affections of love or hatred, which breed perturbation in us, and by consequence he could not see that there was to be either reward or punishment. He thought our conceptions of God were so low, that we had better not think much of him: and to love God seemed to him a presumptuous thing, and the heat of fanciful men. Therefore he believed there should be no other religious worship, but a general celebration of that Being, in some short hymn: all the other parts of worship he esteemed the inventions of priests, to make the world believe they had a secret of incensing and appeasing God as they pleased. In a word, he was neither persuaded that there was a special providence about human affairs, nor that prayers were of much use, since that was to look on God as a weak being, that would be overcome with importunities. And for the state after death, though he thought the soul did not dissolve at death; yet he doubted much of rewards or punishments. The one he thought too high for us to attain, by our slight services; and the other was too extreme to be inflicted for sin. This was the substance of his speculations about God and religion.

I told him his notion of God was so low, that the Supreme Being seemed to be nothing but nature. For if that being had no freedom, nor choice of its own actions, nor operated by wisdom or goodness, all those reasons which led him to acknowledge a God, were contrary to this conceit; for if the order of the universe persuaded him to think there was a God, he must at the same time conceive him to be both wise and good, as well as powerful, since these all appeared equally in the creation: though his wisdom and goodness had ways of exerting themselves, that were far beyond
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our notions or measures. If God was wise and good, he would naturally love, and be pleased with those that resembled him in these perfections, and dislike those that were opposite to him. Every rational being naturally loves itself, and is delighted in others like itself, and is averse from what is not so. Truth is a rational nature's acting in conformity to itself in all things; and goodness is an inclination to promote the happiness of other beings: so truth and goodness were the essential perfections of every reasonable being, and certainly most eminently in the Deity. Nor does his mercy or love raise passion or perturbation in him; for we feel that to be a weakness in ourselves, which indeed only flows from our want of power, or skill to do what we wish or desire. It is also reasonable to believe God would assist the endeavour of the good, with some helps suitable to their nature. And that it could not be imagined, that those who imitated him, should not be especially favoured by him: and therefore since this did not appear in this state, it was most reasonable to think it should be in another, where the rewards shall be an admission to a more perfect state of conformity to God, with the felicity that follows it; and the punishments should be a total exclusion from him, with all the horror and darkness that must follow that. These seemed to be the natural results of such several courses of life, as well as the effects of divine justice, rewarding or punishing. For since he believed the soul had a distinct subsistence, separated from the body; upon its dissolution there was no reason to think it passed into a state of utter oblivion, of what it had been in formerly: but that as the reflections on the good or evil it had done, must raise joy or horror in it; so those good or ill dispositions accompanying the de-

departed souls, they must either rise up to a higher perfection, or sink to a more depraved and miserable state. In this life variety of affairs and objects do much cool and divert our minds; and are on the one hand often great temptations to the good, and give the bad some ease in their trouble; but in a state wherein the soul shall be separated from sensible things, and employed in a more quick and sublime way of operation, this must very much exalt the joys and improvements of the good, and as much heighten the horror and rage of the wicked. So that it seemed a vain thing to pretend to believe a Supreme Being, that is wise and good, as well as great, and not to think a discrimination will be made between the good and bad, which, it is manifest, is not fully done in this life.

As for the government of the world, if we believe the Supreme Power made it, there is no reason to think he does not govern it: for all that we can fancy against it, is the distraction which that infinite variety of *second* causes, and the care of their concernments, must give to the *first*, if it inspects them all. But as among men, those of weaker capacities are wholly taken up with some one thing, whereas those of more enlarged powers can, without distraction, have many things within their care, as the eye can at one view receive a great variety of objects, in that narrow compass, without confusion; so if we conceive the divine understanding to be as far above ours, as his power of creating and framing the whole universe, is above our limited activity; we will no more think the government of the world a distraction to him: and if we have once overcome this prejudice, we shall be ready to acknowledge a providence directing all affairs; a care well becoming the great Creator.

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As for *worshipping* him, if we imagine our worship is a thing that adds to his happiness, or gives him such a fond pleasure as weak people have to hear themselves commended; or that our repeated addresses do overcome him through our mere importunity, we have certainly very unworthy thoughts of him. The true ends of worship come within another consideration, which is this; a man is never entirely reformed, till a new principle governs his thoughts. Nothing makes that principle so strong, as deep and frequent meditations of God; whose nature, though it be far above our comprehension, yet his goodness and wisdom are such perfections, as fall within our imagination: and he that thinks often of God, and considers him as governing the world, and as ever observing all his actions, will feel a very sensible effect of such meditations, as they grow more lively and frequent with him; so the end of religious worship, either public or private, is to make the apprehensions of God have a deeper root and a stronger influence on us. The frequent returns of these are necessary: lest if we allow of too long intervals between them, these impressions may grow feebler, and other suggestions may come in their room. And the returns of prayer are not to be considered as favours extorted by mere importunity, but as rewards conferred on men so well disposed, and prepared for them: according to the promises that God has made, for answering our prayers; thereby to engage and nourish a devout temper in us, which is the chief root of all true holiness and virtue.

It is true, we cannot have suitable notions of the divine essence; as indeed we have no just idea of any essence whatsoever: since we commonly consider all things, either by their outward figure,
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or by their effects: and from thence make inferences what their nature must be. So though we cannot frame any perfect image in our minds of the divinity; yet we may, from the discoveries God has made of himself, form such conceptions of him, as may possess our minds with great reverence for him, and beget in us such a love of those perfections as to engage us to imitate them. For when we say we love God; the meaning is, we love that being that is holy, just, good, wise, and infinitely perfect: and loving these attributes in that object, will certainly carry us to desire them in ourselves. For whatever we love in another, we naturally, according to the degree of our love, endeavour to resemble it. In sum, the loving and worshipping God, though they are just and reasonable returns and expressions of the sense we have of his goodness to us; yet they are exacted of us not only as a tribute to God, but as a mean to beget in us a conformity to his nature, which is the chief end of pure and undefiled religion.

If some men have at several times found out inventions to corrupt this, and cheat the world, it is nothing but what occurs in every sort of employment, to which men betake themselves. Mountebanks corrupt physic; petty-foggers have entangled the matters of property; and all professions have been vitiated by the knaveries of a number of their calling.

With all these discourses he was not equally satisfied. He seemed convinced that the impressions of God being much in men's minds, would be a powerful means to reform the world: and did not seem determined against providence. But for the next state, he thought it more likely that the soul began anew, and that her sense of what she had done in this body, lying in the figures that are
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made in the brain, as soon as she dislodged, all these perished, and that the soul went into some other state to begin a new course. But I said on this head, that this was at best a conjecture, raised in him by his fancy; for he could give no reason to prove it true: nor was all the remembrance our souls had of past things seated in some material figures lodged in the brain: though it could not be denied but a great deal of it lay in the brain. That we have many abstracted notions and ideas of immaterial things, which depend not on bodily figures. Some sins, such as falshood and ill nature, were seated in the mind, as lust and appetite were in the body: and as the whole body was the receptacle of the soul, and the eyes and ears were the organs of seeing and hearing, so was the brain the seat of memory: yet the power and faculty of memory, as well as of seeing and hearing, lay in the mind: and so it was no unconceivable thing that either the soul, by its own strength, or by the means of some subtler organs, which might be fitted for it in another state, should still remember as well as think. But indeed we know so little of the nature of our souls, that it is a vain thing for us to raise an hypothesis out of the conjectures we have about it, or to reject one, because of some difficulties that occur to us; since it is as hard to understand how we remember things now, as how we shall do it in another state; only we are sure we do it now; and so we shall be then, when we do it.

When I pressed him with the secret joys that a good man felt, particularly as he drew near death, and the horrors of ill men, especially at that time; he was willing to ascribe it to the impressions they had from their education. But he often confessed, that whether the business of religion was true or
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not, he thought those who had the persuasions of it, and lived so, that they had quiet in their consciences, and believed God governed the world, and acquiesced in his providence, and had the hope of an endless blessedness in another state, the happiest men in the world: and said, he would give all that he was master of, to be under those persuasions, and to have the supports and joys that must needs flow from them. I told him the main root of all corruptions in men's principles was their ill life; which, as it darkened their minds, and disabled them from discerning better things; so it made it necessary for them to seek out such opinions as might give them ease from those clamours, that would otherwise have been raised within them. He did not deny but that after the doing of some things, he felt great and severe challenges within himself: but he said, he felt not these after some others which I would perhaps call far greater sins, than those that affected him more sensibly. This, I said, might flow from the disorders he had cast himself into, which had corrupted his judgment, and vitiated his taste of things; and by his long continuance in, and frequent repeating of some immoralities, he had made them so familiar to him, that they were become as it were natural: and then it was no wonder if he had not so exact a sense of what was good or evil; as a feverish man cannot judge of tastes.

He did acknowledge the whole system of religion, if believed, was a greater foundation of quiet than any other thing whatsoever: for all the quiet he had in his mind, was, that he could not think so good a being as the Deity would make him miserable. I asked, if, when by the ill course of his life he had brought so many diseases on his body, he could blame God for it; or expect that he

he should deliver him from them by a miracle. He confessed there was no reason for that. I then urged, that if sin should cast the mind by a natural effect, into endless horrors and agonies, which being seated in a being not subject to death, must last for ever, unless some miraculous power interposed, could he accuse God for that which was the effect of his own choice and ill life?

He said, they were happy that believed; for it was not in every man's power.

And upon this we discoursed long about *revealed religion*. He said, he did not understand that business of inspiration. He believed the penmen of the Scriptures had heats and honesty, and so writ; but could not comprehend how God should reveal his secrets to mankind. Why was not man made a creature more disposed for religion, and better illuminated? He could not apprehend how there should be any corruption in the nature of man, or a lapse derived from Adam. God's communicating his mind to one man, was the putting it in his power to cheat the world. For prophecies and miracles, the world had been always full of strange stories: for the boldness and cunning of contrivers meeting with the simplicity and credulity of the people, things were easily received; and being once received, passed down without contradiction. The incoherences of style in the Scriptures, the odd transitions, the seeming contradictions, chiefly about the order of time, the cruelties enjoined the Israelites in destroying the Canaanites, circumcision, and many other rites of the Jewish worship; seemed to him insuitable to the divine nature: and the first three chapters of Genesis, he thought, could not be true, unless they were parables. This was the substance of what he excepted to *revealed religion* in general; and to the *Old Testament* in particular.

I answered

I answered to all this, that believing a thing upon the testimony of another, in other matters where there was no reason to suspect the testimony, chiefly where it was confirmed by other circumstances, was not only a reasonable thing, but it was the hinge on which all the government and justice in the world depended; since all courts of justice proceed upon the evidence given by witnesses; for the use of writings is but a thing more lately brought into the world. So then if the credibility of the thing, the innocence and disinterestedness of the witnesses, the number of them, and the publickest confirmations that could possibly be given, do concur to persuade us of any matter of fact, it is a vain thing to say, because it is *possible* for so many men to agree in a lye, that therefore these *have* done it. In all other things a man gives his assent when the credibility is strong on the one side, and there appears nothing on the other side to balance it. So, such numbers agreeing in their testimony to these miracles; for instance of our Saviour's calling Lazarus out of the grave the fourth day after he was buried, and his own rising again after he was certainly dead; if there had been never so many impostures in the world, no man can with any reasonable colour pretend this was one. We find both by the Jewish and Roman writers that lived in that time, that our Saviour was crucified; and that all his disciples and followers believed certainly that he rose again. They believed this upon the testimony of the apostles, and of many hundreds who saw it, and died confirming it. They went about to persuade the world of it, with great zeal, though they knew they were to get nothing by it, but reproach and sufferings: and by many wonders which they wrought they confirmed their testimony. Now to avoid all this, by saying it is

possible this might be a contrivance, and to give no presumption to make it so much as probable, that it was so, is in plain English to say, *we are resolved, let the evidence be what it will, we will not believe it.*

He said, if a man says he cannot believe, what help is there? for he was not master of his own belief, and believing was at highest but a probable opinion. To this I answered that if a man will let a wanton conceit possess his fancy against these things, and never consider the evidence for religion on the other hand, but reject it upon a slight view of it, he ought not to say he *cannot*, but he *will not* believe: and while a man lives an ill course of life, he is not fitly qualified to examine the matter aright. Let him grow calm and virtuous, and upon due application examine things fairly, and then let him pronounce according to his conscience, if, to take it at its lowest, the reasons on the one hand are not much stronger than they are on the other. For I found he was so possessed with the general conceit, that a mixture of knaves and fools had made all extraordinary things be easily believed, that it carried him away to determine the matter, without so much as looking on the historical evidence for the truth of Christianity, which he had not enquired into, but had bent all his wit and study to the support of the other side. As for that, that believing is at best but an opinion; if the evidence be but probable, it is so: but if it be such that it cannot be questioned, it grows as certain as knowledge: for we are no less certain that there is a great town called Constantinople, the seat of the Ottoman empire, than that there is another called London. We as little doubt that queen Elizabeth once reigned, as that king Charles now reigns in England. So that believing may be

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as certain, and as little subject to doubting, as seeing or knowing.

There are two sorts of believing divine matters ; the one is wrought in us by our comparing all the evidences of matter of fact, for the confirmation of revealed religion, with the prophecies in the Scripture ; where things were punctually predicted, some ages before their completion ; not in dark and doubtful words, uttered like oracles, which might bend to any event, but in plain terms, as the foretelling that Cyrus by name should send the Jews back from the captivity, after the fixed period of seventy years ; the history of the Syrian and Egyptian kings so punctually foretold by Daniel, and the prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem, with many circumstances relating to it, made by our Saviour ; joining these to the excellent rule and design of the Scripture in matters of morality, it is at least as reasonable to believe this as any thing else in the world. Yet such a believing as this, is only a general persuasion in the mind, which has not that effect, till a man applying himself to the directions set down in the Scriptures (which upon such evidence cannot be denied, to be as reasonable, as for a man to follow the prescriptions of a learned physician, and when the rules are both good and easy, to submit to them for the recovering of his health) and by following these, finds a power entering within him, that frees him from the slavery of his appetites and passions, that exalts his mind above the accidents of life, and spreads an inward purity in his heart, from which a serene and calm joy arises within him : and good men by the efficacy these methods have upon them, and from the returns of their prayers, and other endeavours, grow assured that these things are true, and answerable to the promises

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they find registered in Scripture. All this, he said, might be fancy. But to this I answered, that as it were unreasonable to tell a man that is abroad, and knows he is awake, that perhaps he is in a dream, and in his bed, and only thinks he is abroad, or that as some go about in their sleep, so he may be asleep still: so good and religious men know, though others may be abused by their fancies, that they are under no such deception; and find they are neither hot nor enthusiastical, but under the power of calm and clear principles. All this he said he did not understand, and that it was to assert or beg the thing in question, which he could not comprehend.

As for the *possibility* of revelation, it was a vain thing to deny it. For as God gives us the sense of seeing material objects by our eyes, and opened in some a capacity of apprehending high and sublime things, of which other men seemed utterly incapable; so it was a weak assertion that God cannot awaken a power in some mens' minds, to apprehend and know some things, in such a manner that others are not capable of it. This is not half so incredible to us as sight is to a blind man, who yet may be convinced there is a strange power of seeing that governs men, of which he finds himself deprived. As for the capacity put into such mens' hands to deceive the world, we are at the same time to consider, that besides the probity of their tempers, it cannot be thought but God can so forcibly bind up a man in some things that it should not be in his power to deliver them otherwise than as he gives him in commission: besides the confirmations of miracles are a divine credential to warrant such persons in what they deliver to the world: which cannot be imagined can be joined to a lie, since this were to put the omnipotence
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of God, to attest that which no honest man will do.—For the business of the fall of man, and other things of which we cannot perhaps give ourselves a perfect account; we who cannot fathom the secrets of the council of God, do very unreasonably take on us to reject an excellent system of good and holy rules, because we cannot satisfy ourselves about some difficulties in them. Common experience tells us, there is a great disorder in our natures, which is not easily rectified: all philosophers were sensible of it, and every man that designs to govern himself by reason, feels the struggle between it and nature: so that it is plain, there is a lapse of the high powers of the soul.

But why, said he, could not this be rectified, by some plain rules given; but men must come and shew a trick to persuade the world they speak to them in the name of God? I answered, that religion being a design to recover and save mankind, was to be so opened as to awaken and work upon all sorts of people: and generally men of a simplicity of mind, were those that were the fittest objects for God to shew his favour to; therefore it was necessary that messengers sent from heaven should appear with such alarming evidences, as might awaken the world, and prepare them by some astonishing signs, to listen to the doctrine they were to deliver. Philosophy, that was only a matter of fine speculation, had few votaries: and as there was no authority in it to bind the world to believe its dictates, so they were only received by some of nobler and refined natures, who could apply themselves to, and delight in such notions. But true religion was to be built on a foundation, that should carry more weight on it, and to have such convictions, as might not only reach those who were already disposed to receive them, but
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rouse up such as without great and sensible excitation would have otherwise slept on in their ill courses.

Upon this and some such occasions, I told him, I saw the ill use he made of his wit, by which he slurred the gravest things with a slight dash of his fancy: and the pleasure he found in such wanton expressions, as calling the doing of miracles, *the shewing of a trick*, did really keep him from examining them, with that care which such things required.

For the *Old Testament*, we are so remote from that time, we have so little knowledge of the language in which it was writ, have so imperfect an account of the history of those ages, know nothing of their customs, forms of speech, and the several periods they might have, by which they reckoned their time, that it is rather a wonder we should understand so much of it, than that many passages in it should be so dark to us. The chief use it has to us Christians, is, that from writings which the Jews acknowledge to be divinely inspired, it is manifest the Messiah was promised before the destruction of their temple: which being done long ago; and these prophecies agreeing to our Saviour, and to no other, here is a great confirmation given to the Gospel. But though many things in these books could not be understood by us, who live above three thousand years after the chief of them were written, it is no such extraordinary matter.

For that of the destruction of the Canaanites by the Israelites, it is to be considered, that if God had sent a plague among them all, that could not have been found fault with. If then God had a right to take away their lives, without injustice or cruelty, he had a right to appoint others to do it, as well as to execute it by a more immediate way:

and the taking away people by the sword, is a much gentler way of dying, than to be smitten with a plague or a famine. And for the children that were innocent of their fathers' faults, God could in another state make that up to them. So all the difficulty is, why were the Israelites commanded to execute a thing of such barbarity? But this will not seem so hard, if we consider that this was to be no precedent, for future times: since they did not do it but upon special warrant and commission from heaven, evidenced to all the world by such mighty miracles as did plainly shew, that they were particularly designed by God to be the executioners of his justice. And God by employing them in so severe a service, intended to possess them with great horror of idolatry, which was punished in so extreme a manner.

For the rites of their religion, we can ill judge of them, except we perfectly understood the idolatries round about them; to which we find they were much inclined: so they were to be bent by other rites to an extreme aversion from them: and yet by the pomp of many of their ceremonies and sacrifices, great indulgences were given to a people naturally fond of a visible splendor in religious worship. In all which, if we cannot descend to such satisfactory answers in every particular, as a curious man would desire, it is no wonder. The long interval of time, and other accidents, have worn out those things which were necessary to give us a clearer light into the meaning of them. And for the story of the *creation*, how far some things in it may be parabolical, and how far historical, has been much disputed: there is nothing in it that *may not* be historically true. For if it be acknowledged that spirits can form voices in the air, for which we have as good authority as for any thing in history; then it is no wonder that Eve
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being so lately created, might be deceived, and think a serpent spake to her when the evil spirit framed the voice.

But in all these things I told him he was in the wrong way, when he examined the business of religion, by some dark parts of Scripture: therefore I desired him to consider the whole contexture of the Christian religion, the rules it gives, and the methods it prescribes. Nothing can conduce more to the peace, order and happiness of the world, than to be governed by its rules. Nothing is more for the interest of every man in particular. The rules of sobriety, temperance and moderation, were the best preservers of life, and which was perhaps more, of health. Humility, contempt of the vanities of the world, and the being well employed, raises a man's mind to a freedom from the follies and temptations that haunted the greatest part. Nothing was so generous and great as to supply the necessities of the poor, and to forgive injuries. Nothing raised and maintained a man's reputation so much, as to be exactly just, and merciful, kind, charitable, and compassionate. Nothing opened the powers of a man's soul so much as a calm temper, a serene mind, free of passion and disorder. Nothing made societies, families, and neighbourhoods so happy, as when these rules which the Gospel prescribes, took place, *of doing as we would have others do to us, and loving our neighbours as ourselves.*

The *Christian worship* was also plain and simple; suitable to so pure a doctrine. The ceremonies of it were few and significant; as the admission to it by a washing with water, and the memorial of our Saviour's death in bread and wine. The motives in it to persuade to this purity, were strong. That God sees us, and will judge us for all our actions; that we shall be for ever happy or miserable, as we
pass

pass our lives here. The example of our Saviour's life, and the great expressions of his love in dying for us, are mighty engagements to obey and imitate him. The plain way of expression used by our Saviour and his apostles, shews there was no artifice, where there was so much simplicity used: there were no secrets kept only among the priests, but every thing was open to all Christians. The rewards of holiness are not entirely put over to another state, but good men are specially blest with peace in their consciences, great joy in the confidence they have of the love of God, and of seeing him for ever: and often a signal course of blessings follows them in their whole lives. But if at other times calamities fell on them, these were so much mitigated by the patience they were taught, and the inward assistances, with which they were furnished, that even those crosses were converted to blessings.

I desired he would lay all these things together, and see what he could except to them, to make him think this was a contrivance. Interest appears in all human contrivances. Our Saviour plainly had none. He avoided applause; withdrew himself from the offers of a crown: he submitted to poverty and reproach, and much contradiction in his life, and to a most ignominious and painful death. His apostles had none neither: they did not pretend either to power or wealth; but delivered a doctrine that must needs condemn them, if they ever made such use of it. They declared their commission fully, without reserves till other times: they recorded their own weakness: some of them wrought with their own hands; and when they received the charities of their converts, it was not so much to supply their own necessities, as to distribute to others. They knew they were to suffer much for giving their testimonies, to what they
had

had seen and heard : in which, so many in a thing so visible, as Christ's resurrection and ascension, and the effusion of the Holy Ghost, which he had promised, could not be deceived : and they gave such public confirmations of it, by the wonders they themselves wrought, that great multitudes were converted to a doctrine, which, besides the opposition it gave to lust and passion, was borne down and persecuted for three hundred years : and yet its force was such, that it not only weathered out all those storms, but even grew and spread vastly under them. Pliny about threescore years after, found their numbers great and their lives innocent : and even Lucian amidst all his raillery, gives a high testimony to their charity and contempt of life, and the other virtues of the Christians ; which is likewise more than once done by malice itself, Julian the apostate.

If a man will lay all this in one balance, and compare with it the few exceptions brought to it, he will soon find how strong the one, and how slight the other are. Therefore it was an improper way, to begin at some cavils about some passages in the *New Testament*, or the *Old*, and from thence to prepossess one's mind against the whole. The right method had been first to consider the whole matter, and from so general a view to descend to more particular enquiries : whereas they suffered their minds to be forestalled with prejudices, so that they never examined the matter impartially.

To the greatest part of this he seemed to assent ; only he excepted to the belief of *mysteries* in the Christian religion, which he thought no man could do, since it is not in a man's power to believe that which he cannot comprehend ; and of which he can have no notion. The believing mysteries, he said, made way for all the jugglings of priests ; for
they

they getting the people under them in that point, set out to them what they pleased ; and giving it a hard name, and calling it a mystery, the people were tamed, and easily believed it. The restraining a man from the use of women, except one in the way of marriage, and denying the remedy of divorce, he thought unreasonable impositions on the freedom of mankind : and the business of the clergy, and their maintenance, with the belief of some authority and power conveyed in their orders, looked, as he thought, like a piece of contrivance. “ And why,” said he, “ must a man tell me, I cannot be saved, unless I believe things against my reason, and then that I must pay him for telling me of them ?” these were all the exceptions which at any time I heard from him to Christianity. To which I made these answers.

For *mysteries*, it is plain there is in every thing somewhat that is unaccountable. How animals or men are formed in their mothers’ bellies ; how seeds grow in the earth ; how the soul dwells in the body, and acts and moves it ; how we retain the figures of so many words or things in our memories, and how we draw them out so easily and orderly in our thoughts or discourses ; how sight and hearing were so quick and distinct ; how we move, and how bodies were compounded and united ; these things if we follow them into all the difficulties, that we may raise about them, will appear every whit as unaccountable as any mystery of religion : and a blind or deaf man would judge sight or hearing as incredible, as any mystery may be judged by us : for our reason is not equal to them. In the same rank, different degrees of age or capacity raise some far above others : so that children cannot fathom the learning, nor weak persons the counsels of more illuminated minds : therefore it was no wonder if we

we could not understand the divine essence. We cannot imagine how two such different natures as a soul and a body should so unite together, and be mutually affected with one another's concerns; and how the soul has one principle of reason, by which it acts intellectually, and another of life by which it joins to the body and acts vitally, two principles so widely differing both in their nature and operation, and yet united in one and the same person. There might be as many hard arguments brought against the possibility of these things, which yet every one knows to be true, from speculative notions, as against the mysteries mentioned in the Scriptures. As that of the Trinity; that in one essence there are three different principles of operation, which, for want of terms fit to express them by, we call *persons*, and are called in Scripture *the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost*; and that the second of these did unite himself in a most intimate manner with the human nature of Jesus Christ; and that the sufferings he underwent, were accepted of God as a sacrifice for our sins, who thereupon conferred on him a power of granting eternal life to all that submit to the terms on which he offers it; and that the matter of which our bodies once consisted, which may be as justly called the bodies we laid down at our deaths, as these can be said to be the bodies which we formerly lived in, being refined and made more spiritual, shall be reunited to our souls, and become a fit instrument for them in a more perfect estate: and that God inwardly bends and moves our wills, by such impressions, as he can make on our bodies and minds. These, which are the chief mysteries of our religion, are neither so unreasonable, that any other objection lies against them, but this, that they agree not with our common notions, nor so un-

unaccountable that somewhat like them, cannot be assigned in other things, which are believed really to be, although the manner of them cannot be apprehended: so this ought not to be any just objection to the submission of our reason to what we cannot so well conceive, provided our belief of it be well grounded. There have been too many niceties brought indeed, rather to darken than explain these: they have been defended by weak arguments, and illustrated by similies not always so very apt and pertinent: and new subtilties have been added, which have rather perplexed than cleared them. All this cannot be denied; the opposition of *heretics* anciently, occasioned too much curiosity among the *Fathers*; which the *school-men* have wonderfully advanced of late times: but if mysteries were received, rather in the simplicity in which they are delivered in the Scriptures, than according to the descantings of fanciful men upon them, they would not appear much more incredible, than some of the common objects of sense and perception. And it is a needless fear, that if some mysteries are acknowledged, which are plainly mentioned in the New Testament, it will then be in the power of the priests to add more at their pleasure. For it is an absurd inference from our being bound to assent to some truths about the divine essence, of which the manner is not understood, to argue that therefore in an object presented duly to our senses, such as bread and wine, we should be bound to believe against their testimony, that it is not what our senses perceive it to be, but the whole flesh and blood of Christ; an entire body being in every crumb and drop of it. It is not indeed in a man's power to believe thus against his sense and reason, where the object is proportioned to them, and fitly applied,

applied, and the organs are under no indisposition or disorder. It is certain that no mystery is to be admitted, but upon very clear and express authorities from Scripture, which could not reasonably be understood in any other sense. And though a man cannot form an explicit notion of a mystery, yet in general he may believe a thing to be, though he cannot give himself a particular account of the way of it: or rather though he cannot answer some objections which lie against it. We know we believe many such in human matters, which are more within our reach: and it is very unreasonable to say, we may not do it in divine things, which are much more above our apprehensions.

For the severe restraint of the use of women, it is hard to deny that privilege to Jesus Christ as a law-giver, to lay such restraints as all inferior legislators do; who when they find the liberties their subjects take, prove hurtful to them, set such limits, and make such regulations as they judge necessary and expedient. It cannot be said but the restraint of appetite is necessary in some instances: and if it is necessary in these, perhaps other restraints are no less necessary, to fortify and secure them. For if it be acknowledged that men have a property in their wives and daughters, so that to defile the one, or corrupt the other, is an unjust and injurious thing; it is certain, that except a man carefully governs his appetite, he will break through these restraints: and therefore our Saviour knowing that nothing could so effectually deliver the world from the mischief of unrestrained appetite, as such a confinement, might very reasonably enjoin it. And in all such cases we are to balance the inconveniences on both hands, and where we find they are heaviest, we are to acknowledge the equity of the law. On the one hand there is no prejudice,
but

but the restraint of appetite. On the other, are the mischiefs of being given up to pleasure, of running inordinately into it, of breaking the quiet of our own family at home, and of others abroad; the engaging into much passion, the doing many false and impious things to compass what is desired, the waste of men's estates, time, and health. Now let any man judge, whether the prejudices on this side, are not greater than that single one of the other side, of being denied some pleasure? For *polygamy*, it is but reasonable, since women are equally concerned in the laws of marriage, that they should be considered as well as men: but in a state of polygamy they are under great misery and jealousy, and are indeed barbarously used. Man being also of a sociable nature, friendship and converse were among the primitive intentions of marriage; in which, as far as the man may excel the wife in greatness of mind, and height of knowledge, the wife someway makes that up with her affection and tender care: so that from both happily mixed, there arises a harmony, which is to virtuous minds one of the greatest joys of life. But all this is gone in a state of polygamy, which occasions perpetual jarrings and jealousies: and the variety does but engage men to a freer range of pleasure, which is not to be put in the balance with the far greater mischiefs that must follow the other course. So that it is plain, our Saviour considered the nature of man, what it could bear, and what was fit for it, when he so restrained us in these our liberties. And for *divorce*, a power to break that bond would too much encourage married persons in the little quarellings that may rise between them, if it were in their power to depart one from another. For when they know that cannot be, and that they must live and die together,
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it does naturally incline them to lay down their resentments, and to endeavour to live as well together as they can. So the law of the Gospel being a law of love, designed to engage Christians to mutual love; it was fit that all such provisions should be made, as might advance and maintain it; and all such liberties be taken away, as are apt to enkindle or foment strife. This might fall in some instances to be uneasy and hard enough; but laws consider what falls out most commonly, and cannot provide for all particular cases. The best laws are in some instances very great grievances. But the advantages being balanced with the inconveniences, measures are to be taken accordingly. Upon this whole matter I said, that pleasure stood in opposition to other considerations of great weight, and so the decision was easy. And since our Saviour offers us so great rewards, it is but reasonable he have a privilege of loading these promises with such conditions, as are not in themselves grateful to our natural inclinations: for all that propose high rewards, have thereby a right to exact difficult performances.

To this he said, we are sure the terms are difficult, but are not so sure of the rewards. Upon this I told him, that we have the same assurance of the rewards, that we have of the other parts of Christian religion. We have the promises of God made to us by Christ, confirmed by many miracles: we have the earnest of these, in the quiet and peace which follows a good conscience: and in the resurrection of him from the dead, who hath promised to raise us up: so that the reward is sufficiently assured to us. And there is no reason it should be given to us, before the conditions are performed, on which the promises are made. It is but reasonable that we should trust God and do

our duty, *in hopes of that eternal life, which God, who cannot lie, hath promised.* The difficulties are not so great, as those which sometimes the commonest concerns of life bring upon us. The learning some trades or sciences, the governing our health and affairs, bring us often under as great straights. So that it ought to be no just prejudice, that there are some things in religion that are uneasy, since this is rather the effect of our corrupt natures, which are further depraved by vicious habits, and can hardly turn to any new course of life, without some pain; than of the dictates of Christianity, which are in themselves just and reasonable, and will be easy to us when renewed, and in a good measure restored to our primitive integrity.

As for the exceptions he had to the *maintenance* of the clergy, and the *authority* to which they pretended; if they stretched their designs too far, the Gospel did plainly reprove them for it: so that it was very suitable to that church which was so grossly faulty this way, to take the Scriptures out of the hands of the people, since they do so manifestly disclaim all such practices. The priests of the true Christian religion have no secrets among them, which the world must not know; but are only an order of men dedicated to God, to attend on sacred things, who ought to be holy in a more peculiar manner, since they are to handle the things of God. It was necessary that such persons should have a due esteem paid them, and a fit maintenance appointed for them; that so they might be preserved from the contempt that follows poverty, and the distractions which the providing against it might otherways involve them in. And as in the order of the world, it was necessary for the support of magistracy and government, and for pre-

serving its esteem, that some state be used (though it is a happiness when great men have philosophical minds, to despise the pageantry of it,) so the plentiful supply of the clergy, if well used and applied by them, will certainly turn to the advantage of religion. And if some men, either through ambition or covetousness, used indirect means, or servile compliances, to aspire to such dignities, and being possessed of them, applied their wealth either to luxury or vain pomp, or made great fortunes out of it for their families; these were personal failings in which the doctrine of Christ was not concerned.

He upon that told me plainly, there was nothing that gave him, and many others, a more secret encouragement in their ill ways, than that those who pretended to believe, lived so that they could not be thought to be in earnest, when they said it. For he was sure religion was either a mere contrivance, or the most important thing that could be: so that if he once believed, he would set himself in great earnest to live suitably to it. The aspirings that he had observed at court, of some of the clergy, with the servile ways they took to attain to preferment, and the animosities among those of several parties, about trifles, made him often think they suspected the things were not true, which in their sermons and discourses they so earnestly recommended. Of this he had gathered many instances. I knew some of them were mistakes and calumnies; yet I could not deny but something of them might be too true: and I publish this the more freely, to put all that pretend to religion, chiefly those that are dedicated to holy functions, in mind of the great obligation that lies on them to live suitably to their profession: since otherwise a great deal of the irreligion and atheism that is among us,
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may too justly be charged on them: for wicked men are delighted out of measure when they discover ill things in them, and conclude from thence not only that they are hypocrites, but that religion itself is a cheat.

But I said to him upon this head, that though no good man could continue in the practice of any known sin, yet such might, by the violence or surprise of a temptation, to which they are liable as much as others, be of a sudden overcome to do an ill thing, to their great grief all their life after. And then it was a very unjust inference, upon some few failings, to conclude that such men do not believe themselves. But how bad soever many are, it cannot be denied but there are also many both of the clergy and laity, who give great and real demonstrations of the power religion has over them; in their contempt of the world, the strictness of their lives, their readiness to forgive injuries, to relieve the poor, and to do good on all occasions: and yet even these may have their failings, either in such things wherein their constitutions are weak, or their temptations strong and sudden: and in all such cases we are to judge of men, rather by the course of their lives, than by the errors, that they through infirmity or surprise may have slipped into.

These were the chief heads we discoursed on; and as far as I can remember, I have faithfully repeated the substance of our arguments. I have not concealed the strongest things he said to me; but though I have not enlarged on all the excursions of his wit in setting them off, yet I have given them their full strength, as he expressed them; and as far as I could recollect, have used his own words: so that I am afraid some may censure me for setting down these things so largely, which im-

pious men may make an ill use of, and gather together to encourage and defend themselves in their vices. But if they will compare them with the answers made to them, and the sense that so great and refined a wit had of them afterwards, I hope they may, through the blessing of God, be not altogether ineffectual.

The issue of all our discourses was this: he told me, he saw vice and impiety were as contrary to human society, as wild beasts let loose would be; and therefore he firmly resolved to change the whole method of his life: to become strictly just and true, to be chaste and temperate, to forbear swearing and irreligious discourse, to worship and pray to his Maker: and that though he was not arrived at a full persuasion of Christianity, he would never employ his wit more to run it down, or to corrupt others. Of which I have since a further assurance, from a person of quality, who conversed much with him, the last year of his life; to whom he would often say, "that he was happy, if he did believe, and that he would never endeavour to draw him from it."

To all this I answered, that a virtuous life would be very uneasy to him, unless vicious inclinations were removed: it would otherwise be a perpetual constraint. Nor could it be effected without an inward principle to change him: and that was only to be had by applying himself to God for it in frequent and earnest prayers: and I was sure if his mind were once cleared of these disorders, and cured of those distempers, which vice brought on it, so great an understanding would soon see through all those slights of wit, that do feed atheism and irreligion; which have a false glittering in them, that dazzles some weak-sighted minds, who have not capacity enough to penetrate further than the surfaces

surfaces of things ; and so they stick in these toils, which the strength of his mind would soon break through, if it were once freed from those things that depressed and darkened it.

At this pass he was when he went from London, about the beginning of April. He had not been long in the country when he thought he was so well, that being to go to his estate in Somersetshire, he rode thither post. This heat and violent motion did so inflame an ulcer, that was in his bladder, that it raised a very great pain in those parts: yet he with much difficulty came back² by coach.

² *Came back.*] The following narrative, which will in some degree supply the deficiencies in this part of the relation, is transcribed from the Sermon preached at the earl's funeral, by Robert Parsons, M.A. chaplain to the right hon. Anne countess of Rochester.

“ Upon my first visit to him, (May 26, just at his return from his journey out of the west) he most gladly received me, shewed me extraordinary respects upon the score of mine office, thanked God who had in mercy and good providence sent me to him who so much needed my prayers and counsels, and acknowledged how unworthily heretofore he had treated that order of men, reproaching them that they were proud, and prophesied only for rewards; but now he had learned how to value them; that he esteemed them the servants of the most high God, who were to shew to him the way to everlasting life.

“ At the same time I found him labouring under strange trouble and conflicts of mind, his spirit wounded, and his conscience full of terrors. Upon his journey, he told me, he had been arguing with greater vigour against God and religion than ever he had done in his life-time before, and that he was resolved to run them down with all the arguments and spite in the world; but, like the great convert, St. Paul, he found it hard to kick against the pricks; for God, at that time, had so struck his heart by his immediate hand, that presently he argued as strongly for God and virtue as before he had done against it; that God strangely opened his heart, creating in his mind most awful and tremendous thoughts and ideas of the Divine Majesty, with a delightful contemplation of the divine nature and attributes, and of the loveliness of religion and virtue. “ I never,” said he, “ was advanced thus far towards happiness in my

coach to the lodge at Woodstock Park. He was then wounded both in body and mind. He understood

my life before; though, upon the commission of some sins extraordinary, I have had some checks and warnings considerable from within, but still struggled with them, and so wore them off again. The most observable that I remember was this: one day, at an atheistical meeting at a person of quality's, I undertook to manage the cause, and was the principal disputant against God and piety, and for my performances received the applause of the whole company; upon which my mind was terribly struck, and I immediately replied thus to myself:—*Good God! that a man that walks upright, that sees the wonderful works of God, and has the use of his senses and reason, should use them to the defying of his Creator!* but, though this was a good beginning towards my conversion, to find my conscience touched for my sins, yet it went off again; nay, all my life long, I had a secret value and reverence for an honest man, and loved morality in others; but I had formed an odd scheme of religion to myself, which would solve all that God or conscience might force upon me; yet I was not ever well reconciled to the business of Christianity, nor had that reverence for the Gospel of Christ as I ought to have." Which estate of mind continued till the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah was read to him, (wherein there is a lively description of the sufferings of our Saviour, and the benefits thereof,) and some other portions of Scripture; by the power and efficacy of which word, assisted by his Holy Spirit, God so wrought upon his heart, that he declared that the mysteries of the passion appeared as clear and plain to him as ever any thing did that was represented in a glass; so that that joy and admiration, which possessed his soul upon the reading of God's word to him, was remarkable to all about him; and he had so much delight in his testimonies, that, in my absence, he begged his mother and lady to read the same to him frequently, and was unsatisfied (notwithstanding his great pain and weakness) till he had learned the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah without book.

At the same time, discoursing of his manner of life from his youth up, and which all men knew was too much devoted to the service of sin, and that the lusts of the flesh, of the eye, and the pride of life, had captivated him; he was very large and particular in his acknowledgments about it, more ready to accuse himself than I or any one else can be; publicly crying out, "O blessed God, can such a horrid creature as I am be accepted by thee, who has denied thy being, and contemned thy power?"

stood physic and his own constitution and distemper so well, that he concluded he could hardly recover :

power?" Asking often, "Can there be mercy and pardon for me? Will God own such a wretch as I?" and in the middle of his sickness said, "Shall the unspeakable joys of heaven be conferred on me? O mighty Saviour! never, but through thine infinite love and satisfaction! O never, but by the purchase of thy blood!" adding, that with all abhorrency he did reflect upon his former life; that sincerely, and from his heart, he did repent of all that folly and madness which he had committed.

Indeed, he had a true and lively sense of God's great mercy to him, in striking his hard heart, and laying his conscience open, which hitherto was deaf to all God's calls and methods: saying, if that God, who died for great as well as less sinners, did not speedily apply his infinite merits to his poor soul, his wound was such as no man could conceive or bear; crying out, that he was the vilest wretch and dog that the sun shined upon or the earth bore; that he now saw his error, in not living up to that reason which God endued him with, and which he unworthily vilified and contemned; wished he had been a starving leper crawling in a ditch, that he had been a link-boy or a beggar, or for his whole life confined to a dungeon, rather than thus to have sinned against God.

How remarkable was his faith, in a hearty embracing and devout confession of all the articles of our Christian religion, and all the divine mysteries of the Gospel! saying, that that absurd and foolish philosophy, which the world so much admired, propagated by the late Mr. Hobbes and others, had undone him and many more of the best parts in the nation; who, without God's great mercy to them, may never, I believe, attain to such a repentance.

I must not omit to mention his faithful adherence to, and casting himself entirely upon, the mercies of Jesus Christ, and the free grace of God, declared to repenting sinners through him; with a thankful remembrance of his life, death, and resurrection; begging God to strengthen his faith, and often crying out, "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief:"

His mighty love and esteem of the holy Scriptures, his resolutions to read them frequently and meditate upon them, if God should spare him, having already tasted the good word; for, it having spoken to his heart, he acknowledged all the seeming absurdities and contradictions thereof, fancied by men of corrupt and reprobate judgments, were vanished, and the excellency
and

cover: for the ulcer broke, and vast quantities of purulent matter passed with his urine. But now the

and beauty appeared, being come to receive the truth in the love of it:

His extraordinary fervent devotions, in his frequent prayers of his own, most excellent and correct; amongst the rest, for the king, in such a manner as became a dutiful subject and a truly grateful servant; for the church and nation; for some particular relations, and then for all men; his calling frequently upon me at all hours to pray with him or read the Scriptures to him; and, toward the end of his sickness, he would heartily desire God to pardon his infirmities, if he should not be so wakeful and intent through the whole duty as he wished to be; and that, though the flesh was weak, yet the spirit was willing, and he hoped God would accept that:

His continual invocation of God's grace and Holy Spirit, to sustain him, to keep him from all evil thoughts, from all temptations and diabolical suggestions, and every thing which might be prejudicial to that religious temper of mind which God had now so happily endued him withal; crying out, one night especially, how terribly the tempter did assault him, by casting upon him lewd and wicked imaginations! "but I thank God," said he, "I abhor them all; by the power of his grace, which I am sure is sufficient for me, I have overcome them; it is the malice of the devil, because I am rescued from him; and the goodness of God, that frees me from all my spiritual enemies:"

His great joy at his lady's conversion from Popery to the Church of England, (being, as he termed it, a faction supported only by fraud and cruelty,) which was by her done with deliberation and mature judgment; the dark mists of which have for some months before been breaking away, but now cleared by her receiving the blessed Sacrament with her dying husband, at the receiving of which no man could express more joy and devotion than he did; and, having handled the word of life, and seen the salvation of God, in the preparation of his mind, he was now ready to depart in peace:

His hearty concern for the pious education of his children, wishing that his son might never be a wit, that is, (as he himself explained it,) one of those wretched creatures who pride themselves in abusing God and religion, denying his being or his providence; but that he might become an honest and religious man, which could only be the support and blessing of his family; complaining what a vicious and naughty world they were brought into, and that no fortunes or honours were comparable

the hand of God touched him, and as he told me, it was not only a general dark melancholy over his mind,

parable to the love and favour of God to them, in whose name he blessed them, prayed for them, and committed them to his protection :

His strict charge to those persons, in whose custody his papers were, to burn all his profane and lewd writings, as being only fit to promote vice and immorality, by which he had so highly offended God and shamed and blasphemed that holy religion into which he had been baptized : and all his obscene and filthy pictures, which were so notoriously scandalous :

His readiness to make restitution, to the utmost of his power, to all persons whom he had injured ; and, for those whom he could not make a compensation to, he prayed for God's and their pardons. His remarkable justice in taking all possible care for the payment of his debts, which before he confessed he had not so fairly and effectually done :

His readiness to forgive all injuries done against him ; some, more particularly mentioned, which were great and provoking ; nay, annexing thereto all the assurance of a future friendship, and hoping he should be as freely forgiven at the hand of God.

How tender and concerned was he for his servants about him in his extremities, (manifested by the beneficence of his will to them,) pitying their troubles in watching with him and attending him, treating them with candour and kindness, as if they had been his intimates !

How hearty were his endeavours to be serviceable to those about him, exhorting them to the fear and love of God, and to make a good use of his forbearance and long-suffering to sinners, which should lead them to repentance ! And here I must not pass by his pious and most passionate exclamation to a gentleman of some character, who came to visit him upon his death-bed ; “ O remember that you condemn God no more ! he is an avenging God, and will visit you for your sins ; he will, in mercy, I hope, touch your conscience, sooner or later, as he has done mine. You and I have been friends and sinners together a great while, therefore I am the more free with you. We have been all mistaken in our conceits and opinions, our persuasions have been false and groundless ; therefore God grant you repentance.” And seeing him the next day again, he said to him, “ Perhaps you were disobliged by my plainness to you yesterday ; I spake the words of truth and soberness to you, and” (striking his hand upon his breast, said,) “ I hope God will touch your heart.”

Like-

mind, such as he had formerly felt; but a most penetrating cutting sorrow. So that though in his body

Likewise his commands to me, to preach abroad, and to let all men know (if they knew it not already) how severely God had disciplined him for his sins by his afflicting hand; that his sufferings were most just though he had laid ten thousand times more upon him; how he had laid one stripe upon another because of his grievous provocations, till he had brought him home to himself; that, in his former visitations he had not that blessed effect he was now sensible of. He had formerly some loose thoughts and slight resolutions of reforming, and designed to be better, because even the present consequences of sin were still pestering him, and were so troublesome and inconvenient to him; but that now he had other sentiments of things, and acted upon other principles:

His willingness to die, if it pleased God, resigning himself always to the divine disposal; but, if God should spare him yet a longer time here, he hoped to bring glory to the name of God in the whole course of his life, and particularly by his endeavours to convince others, and to assure them of the danger of their condition, if they continued impenitent, and how graciously God had dealt with him:

His great sense of his obligations to those excellent men, the right reverend my lord bishop of Oxford, and Dr. Marshall, for their charitable and frequent visits to him, and prayers with him; and Dr. Burnett, who came on purpose from London to see him, who were all very serviceable to his repentance:

His extraordinary duty and reverence to his mother, with all the grateful respects to her imaginable, and kindness to his good lady, beyond expression, (which may well enhance such a loss to them,) and to his children, obliging them, with all the endearments that a good husband or a tender father could bestow.

To conclude these remarks, I shall only read to you his dying remonstrance, sufficiently attested and signed by his own hand, as his truest sense, (which I hope may be useful for that good end he designed it,) in manner and form following.

“ For the benefit of all those whom I may have drawn into sin by my example and encouragement, I leave to the world this my last declaration, which I deliver in the presence of the great God, who knows the secrets of all hearts, and before whom I am now appearing to be judged:

“ That,

body he suffered extreme pain, for some weeks, yet the agonies of his mind sometimes swallowed up

“ That, from the bottom of my soul, I detest and abhor the whole course of my former wicked life; that I think I can never sufficiently admire the goodness of God, who has given me a true sense of my pernicious opinions and vile practices, by which I have hitherto lived without hope and without God in the world; have been an open enemy to Jesus Christ, doing the utmost despite to the Holy Spirit of Grace. And that the greatest testimony of my charity to such is, to warn them, in the name of God, and, as they regard the welfare of their immortal souls, no more to deny his being, or his providence, or despise his goodness; no more to make a mock of sin, or condemn the pure and excellent religion of my ever blessed Redeemer, through whose merits alone, I, one of the greatest sinners, do yet hope for mercy and forgiveness. Amen.”

Declared and signed in the presence of

ANNE ROCHESTER.

ROBERT PARSONS.

“ J. ROCHESTER.”

June 19, 1680.

And now I cannot but mention, with joy and admiration, that steady temper of mind which he enjoyed through the whole course of his sickness and repentance; which must proceed, not from a hurry and perturbation of mind or body, arising from the fear of death or dread of hell only, but from an ingenuous love to God, and an uniform regard to virtue, (suitable to that solemn declaration of his, “ I would not commit the least sin to gain a kingdom,”) with all possible symptoms of a lasting perseverance in it, if God should have restored him. To which may be added, his comfortable persuasions of God’s accepting him to his mercy, saying, three or four days before his death, “ I shall die, but oh, what unspeakable glories do I see! what joys, beyond thought or expression, am I sensible of! I am assured of God’s mercy to me through Jesus Christ. Oh how I long to die, and be with my Saviour!”

The time of his sickness and repentance was just nine weeks; in all which time he was so much master of his reason, and had so clear an understanding, (saving thirty hours, about the middle of it, in which he was delirious,) that he had never dictated or spoke more composed in his life: and therefore, if any shall con-

up the sense of what he felt in his body. He told me, and gave it me in charge, to tell it to one for whom he was much concerned, that though there were nothing to come after this life, yet all the pleasures he had ever known in sin, were not worth that torture he had felt in his mind. He considered he had not only neglected and dishonoured, but had openly defied his Maker, and had drawn many others into the like impieties: so that he looked on himself as one that was in great danger of being damned. He then set himself wholly to turn to God unfeignedly, and to do all that was possible in that little remainder of his life which was before him, to redeem those great portions of it, that he had formerly so ill employed. The minister that attended constantly on him, was that good and worthy man Mr. Parsons, his mother's chaplain, who hath since his death preached, according to the directions he received from him, his funeral sermon: in which there are so many remarkable passages, that I shall refer my reader to them, and will repeat none of them here, that I may not thereby lessen his desire to edify himself by that excellent discourse, which has given so great and so general a satisfaction to all good and judicious readers. I shall speak cursorily of every thing, but that which I had immediately from himself.

continue to say his piety was the effect of madness or vapours, let me tell them, it is highly disingenuous, and that the assertion is as silly as it is wicked. And, moreover, that the force of what I have delivered may be not evaded by wicked men, who are resolved to harden their hearts, maugre all convictions, by saying, this was done in a corner; I appeal, for the truth thereof, to all sorts of persons who, in considerable numbers, visited and attended him, and more particularly to those eminent physicians who were near him, and conversant with him in the whole course of his tedious sickness; and who, if any, are competent judges of a phrensy or delirium.

He

He was visited every week of his sickness by his diocesan, that truly primitive prelate, the lord bishop of Oxford; who though he lived six miles from him, yet looked on this as so important a piece of his pastoral care, that he went often to him; and treated him with that decent plainness and freedom which is so natural to him; and took care also that he might not on terms more easy than safe, be at peace with himself. Dr. Marshal, the learned and worthy rector of Lincoln College in Oxford, being the minister of the parish, was also frequently with him: and by these helps he was so directed and supported, that he might not on the one hand satisfy himself with too superficial a repentance, nor on the other hand be out of measure oppressed with a sorrow without hope.

As soon as I heard he was ill, but yet in such a condition that I might write to him, I wrote a letter to the best purpose I could. He ordered one that was then with him, to assure me it was very welcome to him: but not satisfied with that, he sent me an answer, which, as the countess of Rochester, his mother, told me, he dictated every word, and then signed it. I was once unwilling to have published it, because of a compliment in it to myself, far above my merit, and not very well suiting with his condition. But the sense he expresses in it of the change then wrought on him, hath upon second thoughts prevailed with me to publish it, leaving out what concerns myself.

Woodstock Park,
June 25, 1680, Oxfordshire.

My most honoured Dr. Burnet,

My spirits and body decay so equally together,
that I shall write you a letter as weak as I am in
person.

person. I begin to value churchmen above all men in the world, &c. If God be yet pleased to spare me longer in this world, I hope in your conversation to be exalted to that degree of piety, that the world may see how much I abhor what I so long loved, and how much I glory in repentance, and in God's service. Bestow your prayers upon me, that God would spare me (if it be his good will) to shew a true repentance and amendment of life for the time to come: or else if the Lord pleaseth to put an end to my worldly being now, that he would mercifully accept of my death-bed repentance, and perform that promise that he hath been pleased to make, *that at what time soever a sinner doth repent, he would receive him.* Put up these prayers, most dear doctor, to Almighty God for your most obedient and languishing servant,

ROCHESTER.

He told me when I saw him, that he hoped I would come to him upon that general insinuation of the desire he had of my company: and he was loth to write more plainly, not knowing whether I could easily spare so much time. I told him, that on the other hand, I looked on it as a presumption to come so far, when he was in such excellent hands; and though perhaps the freedom formerly between us, might have excused it with those to whom it was known; yet it might have the appearance of so much vanity, to such as were strangers to it; so that till I received his letter, I did not think it convenient to come to him. And then not hearing that there was any danger of a sudden change, I delayed going to him till the 20th of July. At my coming to his house an accident fell out not worth mentioning, but that some have made a story of it. His servant, being
1 a French-

a Frenchman, carried up my name wrong, so that he mistook it for another, who had sent to him, that he would undertake his cure; and he being resolved not to meddle with him, did not care to see him. This mistake lasted some hours, with which I was the better contented, because he was not then in such a condition, that my being about him could have been of any use to him; for that night was like to have been his last. He had a convulsion fit, and raved; but opiates being given him, after some hours rest, his raving left him so entirely, that it never again returned to him.

I cannot easily express the transport he was in, when he awoke and saw me by him. He brake out in the tenderest expressions concerning my kindness in coming so far to see *such an one*, using terms of great abhorrence concerning himself, which I forbear to relate. He told me, as his strength served him at several snatches, (for he was then so low, that he could not hold up discourse long at once,) what sense he had of his past life; what sad apprehension for having so offended his Maker, and dishonoured his Redeemer: what horrors he had gone through, and how much his mind was turned to call on God, and on his crucified Saviour: so that he hoped he should obtain mercy, for he believed he had sincerely repented; and had now a calm in his mind after that storm that he had been in for some weeks. He had strong apprehensions and persuasions of his admittance to heaven: of which he spake once not without some extraordinary emotion. It was indeed the only time that he spake with any great warmth to me: for his spirits were then low, and so far spent, that though those about him told me, he had expressed formerly great fervour in his devotions; yet nature was so much sunk, that these were in a great measure

sure fallen off. But he made me pray often with him; and spoke of his conversion to God as a thing now grown up in him to a settled and calm serenity. He was very anxious to know my opinion of a death-bed repentance. I told him, that before I gave any resolution in that, it would be convenient that I should be acquainted more particularly with the circumstances and progress of his repentance.

Upon this he satisfied me in many particulars. He said, he was now persuaded both of the truth of Christianity, and of the power of inward grace, of which he gave me this strange account. He said, Mr. Parsons, in order to his conviction, read to him the 53d chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, and compared that with the history of our Saviour's passion, that he might there see a prophecy concerning it, written many ages before it was done; which the Jews that blasphemed Jesus Christ still kept in their hands, as a book divinely inspired. He said to me, "that as he heard it read, he felt an inward force upon him, which did so enlighten his mind, and convince him, that he could resist it no longer: for the words had an authority which did shoot like rays or beams in his mind; so that he was not only convinced by the reasonings he had about it, which satisfied his understanding, but by a power which did so effectually constrain him, that he did ever after as firmly believe in his Saviour, as if he had seen him in the clouds." He had made it be read so often to him, that he had got it by heart: and went through a great part of it in discourse with me, with a sort of heavenly pleasure, giving me his reflections on it. Some few I remember: *Who hath believed our report?* (ver. 1.) Here, he said, was foretold the opposition the Gospel was to meet with from such wretches

wretches as he was. *He hath no form nor comeliness, and when we shall see him, there is no beauty that we should desire him,* (ver. 2.) On this he said, the meanness of his appearance and person has made vain and foolish people disparage him, because he came not in such a fool's coat as they delight in. What he said on the other parts I do not well remember; and indeed I was so affected with what he said then to me, that the general transport I was under during the whole discourse, made me less capable to remember these particulars, as I wish I had done.

He told me, that he had thereupon received the Sacrament with great satisfaction, and that was increased by the pleasure he had in his lady's receiving it with him; who had been for some years misled in the communion of the Church of Rome, and he himself had been not a little instrumental in procuring it, as he freely acknowledged. So that it was one of the joyfulest things that befel him in his sickness, that he had seen that mischief removed, in which he had so great a hand: and during his whole sickness, he expressed so much tenderness and true kindness to his lady, that as it easily defaced the remembrance of every thing wherein he had been in fault formerly, so it drew from her the most passionate care and concern for him that was possible: which indeed deserves a higher character than is decent to give of a person yet alive. But I shall confine my discourse to the dead.

He told me, he had overcome all his resentments to all the world; so that he bore ill will to no person, nor hated any upon personal accounts. He had given a true state of his debts, and had ordered to pay them all, as far as his estate that was not settled, could go: and was confident that if all that was owing to him were paid to his executors, his

creditors would be all satisfied. He said, he found his mind now possessed with another sense³ of things, than ever he had formerly. He did not repine under all his pain; and in one of the sharpest fits he was under while I was with him, he said, he did willingly submit; and looking up to heaven, said, "God's holy will be done. I bless him for all he does to me." He professed he was contented either to die or live, as should please God. And though it was a foolish thing for a man to pretend to choose, whether he would die or live, yet he wished rather to die. He knew he could never be so well, that life should be comfortable to him. He was confident he should be happy if he died, but he feared if he lived he might relapse. And then said he to me, "in what a condition shall I be, if I relapse after all this? But," he said, "he trusted in the grace and goodness of God, and was resolved to avoid all those temptations, that course of life, and company, that was likely to insnare him: and he desired to live on no other account, but that he might, by the change of his manners, some way take off the high scandal his former behaviour had given." All these things at several times I had

³ *Another sense.*] Dr. Birch, in his Life of Archbishop Tillotson, (p. 73, note) speaking of this narrative, says: "The credit of the doctor's book, and the sincerity of the earl's repentance, would be fully established, if they wanted any additional evidence, by the publication of five letters, still extant, of his mother Anne, countess dowager of Rochester, and sister of sir Walter St. John, of Battersea, bart. to that gentleman's lady, Johanna, daughter of the lord chief justice, St. John. These letters were written during her son's last illness; and shew him to have been, during the course of it, fully possessed of his understanding. *One particular in them deserves to be mentioned here*, that when one of the earl's physicians, thinking to please him, told him, that the king drank his health some days before, he looked earnestly upon him, and said never a word, *but turned his face from him.*"

from him, besides some messages which very well became a dying penitent to some of his former friends, and a charge to publish any thing concerning him, that might be a mean to reclaim others; praying God, that as his life had done much hurt, so his death might do some good.

Having understood all these things from him, and being pressed to give him my opinion plainly about his eternal state; I told him, that though the promises of the Gospel did all depend upon a real change of heart and life, as the indispensable condition upon which they were made; and that it was scarce possible to know certainly whether our hearts are changed, unless it appeared in our lives; and the repentance of most dying men, being like the howlings of condemned prisoners for pardon, which flowed from no sense of their crimes, but from the horror of approaching death; there was little reason to encourage any to hope much from such sorrowing: yet certainly if the mind of a sinner, even on a death-bed, be truly renewed and turned to God, so great is his mercy, that he will receive him, even in that extremity. He said, he was sure his mind was entirely turned, and though horror had given him his first awaking, yet that was now grown up into a settled faith and conversion.

There is but one prejudice lies against all this, to defeat the good ends of Divine Providence by it upon others, as well as on himself; and that is, that it was a part of his disease, and that the lowness of his spirits made such an alteration in him, that he was not what he had formerly been: and this some have carried so far as to say, that he died mad. These reports are raised by those who are unwilling that the last thoughts or words of a person, every way so extraordinary, should have

any effect either on themselves or others: and it is to be feared that some may have so far seared their consciences, and exceeded the common measures of sin and infidelity, that neither this testimony, nor one coming from the dead, would signify much towards their conviction. That this lord was either mad or stupid, is a thing so notoriously untrue, that it is the greatest impudence for any that were about him, to report it; and a very unreasonable credulity in others to believe it. All the while I was with him, after he had slept out the disorders of the fit he was in the first night, he was not only without ravings, but had a clearness in his thoughts, in his memory, in his reflections on things and persons, far beyond what I ever saw in a person so low in his strength. He was not able to hold out long in discourse, for his spirits failed: but once for half an hour, and often for a quarter of an hour, after he awakened, he had a vivacity in his discourse that was extraordinary, and in all things like himself. He called often for his children, his son, the now earl of Rochester, and his three daughters, and spake to them with a sense and feeling that cannot be expressed in writing. He called me once to look on them all, and said, "see how good God has been to me, in giving me so many blessings; and I have carried myself to him like an ungracious and unthankful dog." He once talked a great deal to me of public affairs, and of many persons and things, with the same clearness of thought and expression, that he had ever done before. So that by no sign, but his weakness of body, and giving over discourse so soon, could I perceive a difference between what his parts formerly were, and what they were then.

And

And that wherein the presence of his mind appeared most, was in the total change of an ill habit grown so much upon him, that he could hardly govern himself, when he was any ways heated, three minutes without falling into it; I mean *swearing*. He had acknowledged to me the former winter, that he abhorred it as a base and indecent thing, and had set himself much to break it off: but he confessed that he was so over-powered by that ill custom, that he could not speak with any warmth, without repeated oaths, which, upon any sort of provocation, came almost naturally from him. But in his last remorse this did so sensibly affect him, that by a resolute and constant watchfulness, the habit of it was perfectly mastered; so that upon the returns of pain, which were very severe and frequent upon him, the last day I was with him; or upon such displeasures as people sick or in pain are apt to take of a sudden at those about them; on all these occasions he never swore an oath all the while I was there.

Once he was offended with the delay of one that he thought made not haste enough with somewhat he called for, and said in a little heat, "that damned fellow." Soon after I told him, I was glad to find his style so reformed, and that he had so entirely overcome that ill habit of swearing; only that word of calling any *damned*, which had returned upon him, was not decent. His answer was, "Oh that language of fiends, which was so familiar to me, hangs yet about me. Sure none has deserved more to be damned than I have done." And after he had humbly asked God pardon for it, he desired me to call the person to him, that he might ask him forgiveness: but I told him that was needless, for he had said it of one that did not hear it, and so could not be offended by it.

In

In this disposition of mind did he continue all the while I was with him, four days together: he was then brought so low that all hope of recovery was gone. Much purulent matter came from him with his urine, which he passed always with some pain, but one day with inexpressible torment: yet he bore it decently, without breaking out into repinings, or impatient complaints. He imagined he had a stone in his passage, but it being searched, none was found. The whole substance of his body was drained by the ulcer, and nothing was left but skin and bone, and by lying much on his back, the parts there began to mortify. But he had been formerly so low, that he seemed as much past all hopes of life as now; which made him one morning, after a full and sweet night's rest, procured by laudanum, given him without his knowledge, to fancy it was an effort of nature, and to begin to entertain some hopes of recovery: for he said, he felt himself perfectly well, and that he had nothing ailing him, but an extreme weakness, which might go off in time: and then he entertained me with the scheme he had laid down for the rest of his life, how retired, how strict, and how studious he intended to be. But this was soon over, for he quickly felt that it was only the effect of a good sleep, and that he was still in a very desperate state.

I thought to have left him on Friday, but not without some passion, he desired me to stay that day. There appeared no symptom of present death; and a worthy physician then with him, told me, that though he was so low that an accident might carry him away on a sudden; yet without that, he thought he might live yet some weeks. So on Saturday, at four o'clock in the morning, I left him, being the 24th of July. But I durst not take
leave

leave of him; for he had expressed so great an unwillingness to part with me the day before, that if I had not presently yielded to one day's stay, it was likely to have given him some trouble; therefore I thought it better to leave him without any formality. Some hours after he asked for me, and when it was told him, I was gone, he seemed to be troubled, and said, "Has my friend left me? then I shall die shortly." After that he spake but once or twice till he died. He lay much silent: once they heard him praying very devoutly. And on Monday, about two o'clock in the morning, he died, without any convulsion, or so much as a groan.

CONCLUSION.

THUS he lived, and thus he died, in the three and thirtieth year of his age. Nature had fitted him for great things, and his knowledge and observation qualified him to have been one of the most extraordinary men, not only of his nation, but of the age he lived in: and I do verily believe, that if God had thought fit to have continued him longer in the world, he had been the wonder and delight of all that knew him. But the infinitely wise God knew better what was fit for him, and what the age deserved. For men who have so cast off all sense of God and religion, deserve not so signal a blessing, as the example and conviction which the rest of his life might have given them. And I am apt to think that the divine goodness took pity on him; and seeing the sincerity of his repentance, would try and venture him no more in circumstances of temptation, perhaps too hard for human frailty. Now he is at rest; and I am very confident enjoys the fruits of his late, but sincere repentance. But such as live, and still go on in their sins and impieties, and will not be awakened neither by this, nor the other alarms that are about their ears, are, it seems, given up by God to a judicial hardness and impenitency.

Here is a public instance of one who lived of their side, but could not die of it. And though none of all our libertines understood better than he, the secret mysteries of sin; had more studied every thing that could support a man in it; and had

had more resisted all external means of conviction than he had done; yet when the hand of God inwardly touched him, he could no longer *kick against those pricks*, but *humbled himself under that mighty hand*; and as he used often to say in his prayers, *he who had so often denied him found then no other shelter but his mercies and compassions.*

I have written this account with all the tenderness and caution I could use; and in whatsoever I may have failed, I have been strict in the truth of what I have related, remembering that of Job, *will ye lie for God?* Religion has strength and evidence enough in itself, and needs no support from lies, and made stories. I do not pretend to have given the formal words that he said, though I have done that where I could remember them. But I have written this with the same sincerity, that I would have done, had I known I had been to die immediately after I had finished it. I did not take notes of our discourses last winter after we parted; so I may perhaps in the setting out of my answers to him, have enlarged on several things both more fully and more regularly, than I could say them in such free discourses as we had. I am not so sure of all I set down as said by me, as I am of all said by him to me. But yet the substance of the greatest part, even of that, is the same.

It remains that I humbly and earnestly beseech all that shall take this book in their hands, that they will consider it entirely: and not wrest some parts to an ill intention. God, the searcher of hearts, knows with what fidelity I have writ it. But if any will drink up only the poison that may be in it, without taking also the antidote here given to those ill principles; or considering the sense that this great person had of them, when he reflected seriously on them; and will rather confirm themselves

themselves in their ill ways, by the scruples and objections which I set down, than be edified by the other parts of it; as I will look on it as a great infelicity, that I should have said any thing that may strengthen them in their impieties, so the sincerity of my intentions will, I doubt not, excuse me at *his* hands, to whom I offer up this small service.

I have now performed, in the best manner I could, what was left on me by this noble lord, and have done with the part of an *historian*. I shall in the next place say somewhat as a *divine*. So extraordinary a text does almost force a sermon, though it is plain enough itself, and speaks with so loud a voice, that those who are not awakened by it, will perhaps consider nothing that I can say. If our libertines will become so far sober as to examine their former course of life, with that disengagement and impartiality, which they must acknowledge a wise man ought to use in things of greatest consequence, and balance the account of what they have got by their debaucheries, with the mischiefs they have brought on themselves and others by them, they will soon see what a mad bargain they have made. Some diversion, mirth, and pleasure is all they can promise themselves; but to obtain this, how many evils are they to suffer? How have many wasted their strength, brought many diseases on their bodies, and precipitated their age in the pursuit of those things? and as they bring old age early on themselves, so it becomes a miserable state of life to the greatest part of them; gouts, stranguries, and other infirmities, being severe reckonings for their past follies; not to mention the more loathsome diseases, with their no less loathsome and troublesome cures, which they must often go through, who deliver themselves
up

up to forbidden pleasures. Many are disfigured beside, with the marks of their intemperance and lewdness, and which is yet sadder, an infection is derived oftentimes on their innocent, but unhappy issue, who being descended from so vitiated an original, suffer for their excesses. Their fortunes are profusely wasted, both by their neglect of their affairs, (they being so buried in vice, that they cannot employ either their time or spirits, so much exhausted by intemperance, to consider them;) and by that prodigal expence which their lusts put them upon. They suffer no less in their credit, the chief mean to recover an entangled estate; for that irregular expence forceth them to so many mean shifts, makes them so often false to all their promises and resolutions, that they must needs feel how much they have lost, that which a gentleman, and men of ingenuous tempers do sometimes prefer even to life itself, their honour and reputation. Nor do they suffer less in the nobler powers of their minds, which, by a long course of such dissolute practices, come to sink and degenerate so far, that not a few, whose first blossoms gave the most promising hopes, have so withered, as to become incapable of great and generous undertakings, and to be disabled to every thing, but to wallow like swine in the filth of sensuality, their spirits being dissipated, and their minds so numbed, as to be wholly unfit for business, and even indisposed to think.

That this dear price should be paid for a little wild mirth, or gross and corporeal pleasure, is a thing of such unparalleled folly, that if there were not too many such instances before us, it might seem incredible. To all this we must add the horrors that their ill actions raise in them, and the hard shifts they are put to to stave off these, either by being perpetually drunk or mad, or by an habitual
disuse

disuse of thinking and reflecting on their actions, (and if these arts will not perfectly quiet them) by taking sanctuary in such atheistical principles as may at least mitigate the sowness of their thoughts, though they cannot absolutely settle their minds.

If the state of mankind and human societies are considered, what mischiefs can be equal to those which follow these courses? Such persons are a plague wherever they come; they can neither be trusted nor beloved, having cast off both truth and goodness, which procure confidence and attract love. They corrupt some by their ill practices, and do irreparable injuries to the rest; they run great hazards, and put themselves to much trouble, and all this to do what is in their power to make damnation as sure to themselves as possibly they can. What influence this has on the whole nation is but too visible; how the bonds of nature, wedlock, and all other relations, are quite broken. Virtue is thought an antique piece of formality, and religion the effect of cowardice or knavery. These are the men that would reform the world, by bringing it under a new system of intellectual and moral principles; but bate them a few bold and lewd jests, what have they ever done, or designed to do, to make them be remembered, except it be with detestation? They are the scorn of the present age, and their names must rot in the next. Here they have before them an instance of one who was deeply corrupted with the contagion which he first derived from others, but unhappily heightened it much himself. He was a master indeed, and not a bare trifler with wit, as some of these are who repeat, and that but scurvily, what they may have heard from him or some others, and with impudence and laughter will face the world down, as if they were to teach it wisdom; who,

who, God knows, cannot follow one thought a step further than as they have conned it; and take from them their borrowed wit and their mimical humour, and they will presently appear what they indeed are, the least and lowest of men.

If they will, or if they can think a little, I wish they would consider that by their own principles, they cannot be sure that religion is only a contrivance; all they pretend to is only to weaken some arguments that are brought for it: but they have not brow enough to say, they can prove that their own principles are true. So that at most they bring their cause no higher, than that it is *possible* religion *may not* be true. But still it is *possible* it *may* be true, and they have no shame left that will deny that it is also *probable* it may be true; and if so, then what madmen are they who run so great a hazard for nothing? By their own confession it may be there is a God, a judgment, and a life to come; and if so, then he that believes these things, and lives according to them, as he enjoys a long course of health and quiet of mind, an innocent relish of many true pleasures, and the serenities which virtue raises in him, with the good will and friendship which it procures him from others; so when he dies, if these things prove mistakes, he does not out-live his error, nor shall it afterwards raise trouble or disquiet in him if he then ceases to be: but if these things be true, he shall be infinitely happy in that state, where his present small services shall be so excessively rewarded. The libertines on the other side, as they know they must die, so the thoughts of death must be always melancholy to them; they can have no pleasant view of that which yet they know cannot be very far from them. The least painful idea they can have of it is, that it is an extinction and ceasing to be, but
they

they are not sure even of that. Some secret whispers within make them, whether they will or not, tremble at the apprehensions of another state; neither their tinsel wit, nor superficial learning, nor their impotent assaults upon the weak side as they think of religion, nor the boldest notions of impiety, will hold them up then. Of all which I now present so lively an instance, as perhaps history can scarce parallel.

Here were parts so exalted by nature, and improved by study, and yet so corrupted and debased by irreligion and vice, that he who was made to be one of the glories of his age was become a proverb, and if his repentance had not interposed, would have been one of the greatest reproaches of it. He knew well the small strength of that weak cause, and at first despised, but afterwards abhorred it. He felt the mischiefs, and saw the madness of it; and therefore, though he lived to the scandal of many, he died as much to the edification of all those who saw him; and because they were but a small number, he desired that he might even when dead, yet speak. He was willing nothing should be concealed that might cast reproach on himself and on sin, and offer up glory to God and religion. So that though he lived a heinous sinner, yet he died a most exemplary penitent.

It would be a vain and ridiculous inference for any from hence to draw arguments about the abstruse secrets of predestination; and to conclude that if they are of the number of the elect, they may live as they will, and that Divine Grace will, at some time or other violently constrain them, and irresistibly work upon them. But as St. Paul was called to that eminent service for which he was appointed, in so stupendous a manner, as is no warrant for others to expect such a vocation; so if
upon

upon some signal occasions such conversions fall out, which, how far they are short of miracles, I shall not determine, it is not only a vain but a pernicious imagination, for any to go on in their ill ways, upon a fond conceit and expectation that the like will befall them: for whatsoever God's extraordinary dealings with some may be, we are sure his common way of working is by offering these things to our rational faculties, which, by the assistances of his grace, if we improve them all we can, shall be certainly effectual for our reformation; and if we neglect or abuse these, we put ourselves beyond the common methods of God's mercy, and have no reason to expect that wonders should be wrought for our conviction; which though though they sometimes happen, that they may give an effectual alarm for the awaking of others, yet it would destroy the whole design of religion, if men should depend upon, or look for such an extraordinary and forcible operation of God's grace.

And I hope that those who have had some sharp reflections on their past life, so as to be resolved to forsake their ill courses, will not take the least encouragement to themselves in that desperate and unreasonable resolution of putting off their repentance till they can sin no longer, from the hopes I have expressed of this lord's obtaining mercy at the last; and from thence presume that they also shall be received, when they turn to God on their death-beds. For what mercy soever God may shew to such as really were never inwardly touched before that time; yet there is no reason to think that those who have dealt so disingenuously with God and their own souls, as designedly to put off their turning to him, upon such considerations, should be then accepted with him. They may die suddenly, or by a disease that may so disorder
their

their understandings, that they shall not be in any capacity of reflecting on their past lives. The inward conversion of our minds is not so in our power, that it can be effected without Divine Grace assisting. And there is no reason for those who have neglected these assistances all their lives, to expect them in so extraordinary manner at their death. Nor can one, especially in a sickness, that is quick and critical, be able to do those things that are often indispensably necessary to make his repentance complete: and even in a longer disease, in which there are larger opportunities for these things, yet there is great reason to doubt of a repentance begun and kept up merely by terror, and not from any ingenuous principle. In which, though I will not take on me to limit the mercies of God, which are boundless; yet this must be confessed, that to delay repentance, with such a design, is to put the greatest concernment we have upon the most dangerous and desperate issue that is possible.

But they that will still go on in their sins, and be so partial to them, as to use all endeavours to strengthen themselves in their evil course, even by these very things which the providence of God sets before them, for the casting down of these strong holds of sin; what is to be said to such? it is to be feared, that if they obstinately persist, they will by degrees come within that curse, *he that is unjust, let him be unjust still: and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still.* But if our Gospel is hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.

It is not the danger of losing the established religion and
its numerous adherents which has been the chief
object of the late government, but to secure a well-constituted
and efficient system of education, and the example of any
other nation, we should rather have been subject to an
alteration of the constitution of the church, which is more
probable than any other measure, with all the nations

ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON.

Other nations, however, can be compared with that which is
the most perfect and preservation of the liberty of
the church, and the second, that with a view to us, more
than any other, the liberty of the church, which is more
and more, and reputation are due to those who are

London: W. S. Lowry.

HAD not the danger of losing the established religion and laws animated some of the last age with a zeal which despised all other dangers ; instead of living under a well-constituted government, mild and regular beyond the example of any age or kingdom, we should either have been subject to an arbitrary and illegal dominion at home, or, which is more probable, have long ago submitted, with all the nations round us, to those powerful enemies, who for a century past have been attempting to enslave the world. And what other human blessings can be compared with that, which is the security and preservation of them all, the liberty of *Laws*? What other except that, which secures to us, more than human blessings, the liberty of *Religion*? What praise, and esteem, and veneration are due to those, who obtained them for us!

DOCTOR W. S. POWELL.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The following Narrative, is abridged from *The Life of the Most Reverend Father in God, John Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury: compiled from the Minutes of the Rev. Mr. Young, late Dean of Salisbury, by F. H——. M. A. London. 1717. 8vo.* The Editor regrets that the Memoir is not more worthy of the excellent man whom it describes.

Advertisement
The following is a list of the
names of the persons who have
been elected to the office of
Deputy Sheriff of the County
of ... for the year 18...

ARCHBISHOP TILLOTSON.

JOHN TILLOTSON was the son of Robert Tillotson, of Sowerby, in the county of York, a clothier, by Mary the daughter of Thomas Dobson, of Sowerby, gentleman, in the parish of Halifax: he was there born either the latter end of September, or the beginning of October, in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty.

His first education and impressions were among those who were then called Puritans, but of the best sort: yet even before his mind was opened to clearer thoughts, he felt somewhat within him, that disposed him to larger notions, and a better temper. The books which were put into the hands of the youth of that time, were generally heavy; he could scarce bear them, even before he knew better things. He happily fell on Chillingworth's book, which gave his mind the ply that it held ever after, and put him on a true scent. He was soon freed from his first prejudices, or rather, he was never mastered by them; yet he still stuck to the strictness of life to which he was bred, and retained a just value and a due tenderness for the men of that persuasion; and by the strength of his reason, together with the clearness of his principles, he brought over more serious men from their scruples to the Communion of the Church, and fixed more in it, than any man I ever knew*.

* See his Funeral Sermon.

After he had with a quick proficiency gone through the grammar-schools, and arrived to an uncommon knowledge in the learned languages, he was on April 23, 1647, admitted pensioner of Clare-Hall, in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. David Clarkson. He commenced bachelor of arts at Midsummer, 1650, and was elected fellow before Christmas that year. In 1654 he took the degree of master of arts, and in 1666 went out doctor in divinity.

In the years 1661 and 2 he was curate to Dr. Hacket, vicar of Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, as abundance of the parishioners living there did well remember; particularly Mr. Mott the parish-clerk and school-master, who gave the following account of him, viz. that sir Thomas Dacres gave him his board, who then lived at the great house near the church; that he behaved himself there exceeding well, and did a great many good things; amongst the rest, by his mild and gentle behaviour, and persuasive eloquence, he prevailed with an old Oliverian soldier, who set up for an Anabaptist preacher there, and preached in a red coat, and was much followed in that place, to desist from that encroachment upon the parish minister, and the usurpation of the priest's office, and to betake himself to some honest employment. Some years after he and Dr. Stillingfleet hired the great house before-mentioned, and lived there together in summer-time.

It has been confidently reported, that he never had a cure of souls; but in Batteley's Edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, Part 3. p. 124, it appears that he was presented by Sir Thomas Barnadiston to the rectory of Ketton, alias Ked-dington, in the county of Suffolk: his mandate of induction is there set down verbatim, as it is entered

tered in the register of the archdeacon of Sudbury. He did not continue there a full year, but removed again to London, and procured Kedington to be bestowed upon his curate: "a benefice" (says the bishop of Sarum in his Funeral Sermon) "being offered him in the country, he once intended to have left this great scene, and gone to that retirement, where he spent almost a year; but he was happily recalled by that honourable Society" (Lincoln's-Inn) "for whom he always retained just impressions of gratitude. And though in the intervals of Terms he could have given a large part of the year to his parish, yet so strict he was to the pastoral care in the point of residence, that he parted with it even when his incomes here could scarce support him."

In the year 1664 he was chosen preacher to Lincoln's-Inn, where he continued some years, and was wonderfully admired and loved by that honourable and learned society, for his eloquent sermons.

The same year he was chosen Tuesday-lecturer of St. Lawrence's church, in London. Here it was that he preached those incomparable Sermons concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our blessed Saviour, in vindication of himself from the calumny of Socinianism, with which his enemies charged him. "When the party" (says the late learned bishop of Sarum*) "had given credit to a most impudent calumny that was raised by the Papists against the late primate, of his being a Socinian, his book against those errors had for some time made even the party itself ashamed to support that any longer; at last an ignorant and malicious

* Reflections upon a Pamphlet, entitled, Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, &c.

writer* was found out to maintain that charge still, which had made too great a noise to be easily parted with. But I am heartily glad to see justice done to the name of so great a man, by one † who has answered that libel in so full and so convincing a manner. He has concealed no part of their objections; and by setting down all those parts of the archbishop's Sermons, upon which these men have studied to fix their malice, not only in some short periods, which malicious men have made a noise with, but in all that went before and after, he gives so fair as well as true a representation of that great prelate's sense, that I am confident no ill impressions will stick with any who will be so just as to consider the whole matter, the vindication as well as the calumnies, with sincere and equitable minds."

The author of the Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, who was a grand Socinian himself, has so fully cleared the archbishop from that imputation, and proved that he lived and died of a contrary opinion, that I hope it will not be unacceptable to the reader to insert the place at large. "Now also he (Mr. Firmin) grew into intimacy with Dr. Whichcot, Dr. Worthington, Dr. Wilkins, Mr. Tillotson. Dr. Wilkins was afterward bishop of Chester, Mr. Tillotson (for he was not yet made doctor) archbishop of Canterbury: but in their dignity, and to the very last, Mr. Firmin had the same place and degree in their esteem and friendship, that at any time formerly he had. While Dr. Tillotson preached the Tuesday's lecture at St.

* A book entitled, Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity.

† Dr. Williams's Vindication of the Sermons of his grace, John, Archbishop of Canterbury, &c.

Lawrence's, so much frequented by all the divines of the town, and by a great many persons of quality and distinction; when the Doctor was obliged to be at Canterbury, where he was dean, or was out of town, either for diversion or health, he generally left it to Mr. Firmin to provide preachers for his lecture, and Mr. Firmin never failed to supply his place with some very eminent preacher; so that there never was any complaint on the account of Dr. Tillotson's absence. And this Mr. Firmin could easily do; for now there was hardly a divine of note (whether in London, or in the country, that frequented London) but Mr. Firmin was come acquainted with him. Which thing helped him much to serve the interests of many hopeful young preachers and scholars, candidates for lectures, schools, cures, or rectories; for whom he would solicit with as much affection and diligence, as other men do for their sons, or near relations. Her late majesty (queen Mary) of most happy memory, having heard much of Mr. Firmin's usefulness in all public designs, especially those of charity; and that he was heterodox in the articles of the Trinity, the divinity of our Saviour, and the satisfaction; she spoke to archbishop Tillotson, and earnestly recommended it to him to set Mr. Firmin right in those weighty and necessary points. The archbishop answered, that he had often endeavoured it; but Mr. Firmin having so early and long imbibed the Socinian doctrine, was not now capable of a contrary impression. However his grace published his sermons (formerly preached at St. Lawrence's) concerning those questions, and sent Mr. Firmin one of the first copies from the press. Mr. Firmin not convinced by his grace's reasonings, or his arguments from holy Scripture, caused a respectful answer (although some have stretched

stretched one expression too far) entitled, *Considerations on the Explications and Defences of the Doctrines of the Trinity*, to be drawn up and published, himself giving his grace a copy of it. I must not omit to do the archbishop right against those who pretend, that the archbishop, notwithstanding those sermons, was in his heart an unitarian. For Mr. Firmin himself told me, shortly after the archbishop had published those sermons, that going to Lambeth, and the archbishop happening to dine in private, he sent for Mr. Firmin to him, and said to this effect, that the calumnies of the people had obliged him to publish his sermons, some time since preached at St. Lawrence's against the tenets of Socinus: that he had sincerely preached, as he then thought, and continued still to think of those points: that however no body's false imputations should provoke him to give ill language to persons who dissented conscientiously, and for weighty reasons; that he knew well this was the case of the Socinians, for whose learning and dexterity, he should always have a respect, as well as for their sincerity and exemplariness. Afterwards, when Mr. Firmin gave him a copy of the *Considerations*, after he had read it, he only said, *my lord of Sarum shall humble their writers*. Nor did he afterwards at any time express the least coldness on the account of the answer made to him, but used Mr. Firmin as formerly, enquiring as his custom was, *how does my son Giles?* so he called Mr. Firmin's son by his second wife."

In his funeral sermon, we have the following account of his preaching this lecture. "I need not tell you," says the eloquent preacher, "how many years, and with what labour and success he divided himself between that society" (Lincoln's Inn) "and this place. I am confident you have profited so much

much by it, that you will remember it long: and that you do reckon it as a great item of the account you must all one day give, that you were so long blessed with his ministry. The numerous assembly that this lecture brought together, even from the remotest parts of this wide city; the great concourse of clergymen, who came hither to form their minds; the happy union that thereby the clergy of this great body grew into, and the blessed effects this had, are things which it is to be hoped an age will not wear out of men's minds. Some great charity, some public service, or good design, was the work of most of those days. Every one saw him considered as the head of this learned and eminent body; and he was the only person that made no reflections on it himself. He was still so affable and humble, so modest, and so ready to serve the youngest and meanest in it, that such as saw all that, must needs feel the impressions of it go deep, and stick long with him."

In 1669, he was made canon of Christ's Church, in Canterbury, and prebend of St. Paul's in 1675: he was also preferred to the deanery of Canterbury in 1672; and in 1689, he was made clerk of the closet to king William the third, and upon the promotion of Dr. Stillingfleet from the deanery of St. Paul's to the bishoprick of Worcester, he succeeded him in the same year.

In 1674, king Charles the second, who had an apprehension and judgment (when he applied to business) equal to the greatest of his predecessors, did clearly perceive it to be the sense of his council, and the voice of his people, that he should support the established church, with a strict hand upon the Papists, and with a moderate restraint of the Dissenters, chiefly because their division gave advantage to the other enemy. On this principle of wisdom,

wisdom, his majesty commanded his own inclination, and during the long recess of parliament, to quiet the minds of his people, he published this declaration for enforcing a late order made in council.

The King's Declaration.

CHARLES R.

The administration of justice, according to the settled and known laws of our kingdom, we take to be the most reasonable and proper method for attaining and preserving the peace and safety both of church and state. As therefore we find it necessary, that the laws should be put in execution with more care and diligence than of late they have been, so also we think it expedient, that the orders we have already given for that purpose, should be made public in such a manner that all men may find themselves obliged to take notice of the same, and to give a due obedience thereunto. For which reason we have thought fit to declare, and do hereby publish and declare our royal will and pleasure, that our order made in council on Wednesday, the third day of this instant, February, and since printed and published, be exactly observed by all and every person and persons to whom it shall or may appertain: and more particularly we require and command, that the convictions of Popish recusants be every where encouraged, quickened, and made effectual: and that all convictions, as soon as they shall be perfected, be forthwith certified into the Exchequer, and that speedy process do issue upon all such convictions as are or shall be certified: and that care be taken, that no persons of quality, who shall be suspected to be Popish recusants, be
omitted

omitted to be presented: and that no delay be used, nor any practice suffered, which may hinder or obstruct the completing of such convictions as are now preparing. And we do strictly charge and command, that no mass be said in any part of this kingdom, the chapels of our dearest consort, the queen, and the chapels of foreign ministers, only excepted. And to prevent all extraordinary resort to those chapels, by such who are not menial servants to the queen, or to foreign ministers, we declare, that every such offender shall incur the forfeiture of one hundred marks, provided by the statute made in the twenty-third year of queen Elizabeth, whereof one third part shall be given to the informer for his farther reward and encouragement. And we require all officers and ministers of justice to cause diligent search to be made in all other places where they shall hear or suspect that mass is said, and to cause all offenders in this kind to be apprehended and proceeded with according to law. And we forewarn all our subjects, that they presume not to send any person to be educated abroad in any Popish college or seminary; and we command all parents or guardians of any person or persons, now remaining in any such college or seminary, that they cause the said person or persons speedily to return home, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Moreover, we require all persons born in any of our dominions, and out of prison, who have taken orders by any authority derived from the church or see of Rome (except Mr. John Huddleston¹) to depart the kingdom before the twenty-fifth day of March next, according to the tenor of our late proclamation;

¹ *Hudleston.*] A Benedictine monk, who had been instrumental to the preservation of the king, after his defeat at Worcester.

and

and also to depart the court within the fourteen days appointed by our late order in council. And we forbid all Papists, or reputed Papists, to come into our palaces at Whitehall or St. James's, or into any other place where our court shall be, contrary to our late prohibition, upon pain of imprisonment in the Tower, if he be a peer of the realm; or in some other prison if he be of lesser quality. And lastly, we appoint, that care be taken for the suppression of conventicles, hereby declaring that all our licences were long since recalled, and that no conventicle hath any authority, allowance, or encouragement from us. And our pleasure is, that these our commands be published and proclaimed in the usual manner.

Given at our court at Whitehall this 12th day of February, in the 27th year of our reign.

This declaration referred to an order in council made on the third day of February, wherein the king, upon advising with several of his bishops, agreed upon six orders and resolutions then taken for the more effectual conviction of Popish recusants, and the suppression of conventicles: of which the last was this, "And his majesty doth farther order and appoint, that effectual care be taken for the suppression of conventicles: and whereas divers pretend licences from his majesty, and would support themselves by that pretence, his majesty declares, that all his licences were long since recalled; and that no conventicle hath any authority, allowance, or encouragement from his majesty." The nonconformists on this occasion thus partially expressed themselves. His majesty called the bishops up to London, to give him advice what was to be done for the securing of religion, &c. and

and they after divers consultations with the ministers of state, advised him to recall his licences, and put the laws against the nonconformists in execution; and this was done by a declaration and proclamation, declaring the licences long since void, and requiring the execution of the laws against Papists and conventicles. No sooner was the proclamation published, but special informers were set on work to promote the execution. A little before the licences were recalled, Mr. Baxter openly declared in his pulpit, "that it was not in opposition to the public churches that he kept up a meeting, but to help the people in their necessity, who were many more than the parish church could hold." Hereupon it was confidently reported that he was conforming —. Another session of parliament approaching, bishop Morley and bishop Ward were in appearance very sensible of Popery, and therefore very forward for abatements, and taking in the nonconformists, and moved it to many. At length Dr. Tillotson and Dr. Stillingfleet desired a meeting with Dr. Manton, Dr. Bates, Mr. Pool, and Mr. Baxter, in order to consider of an accommodation², and said they had the encouragement of several lords, both spiritual and temporal. Mr. Baxter at first met the two doctors alone; and they considered and canvassed various draughts, and at length fixed on one in which they agreed. This being communicated to the nonconformists, was agreeable; but when they communicated it to the bishops, there was an end of the treaty. A great many things could not be obtained, upon which Mr. Baxter sent to Dr. Tillotson,

² *An accommodation.*] For an account of an earlier attempt of the same kind, in the years 1667-8, see Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 42, of this volume. Compare also the Life of Philip Henry, p. 258, and p. 295.

to know whether he might have leave to speak of it, in order to the promoting concord, and to signify how far they were agreed, that their names might be some advantage to the work, and he thereupon returned him the following letter, dated April 11, 1675.

Sir,

I took the first opportunity after you were with us, to speak to the bishop of Salisbury, who promised to keep the matter private, and only to acquaint the bishop of Chichester with it in order to a meeting; but upon some general discourse I plainly perceived several things could not be obtained. However, he promised to appoint a time of meeting, but I have not heard from him since. I am unwilling my name should be used in this matter, not but that I do most heartily desire an accommodation, and shall always endeavour it; but I am sure it will be a prejudice to me, and signify nothing to the effecting of the thing, which, as circumstances are, cannot pass in either house without the concurrence of a considerable part of the bishops, and the countenance of his majesty, which at present I see little reason to expect.

I am,

Your affectionate brother and servant,

J. TILLOTSON.

The terms agreed on were much of the same nature with those delivered the year before by Mr. Baxter to the earl of Orrery; the chief of which were these,

“ That no covenant, promise, or oath, should be required to ordination, institution, or induction, but the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. The sub-

subscribing to the doctrine and sacraments of the Church of England, as expressed in the Thirty-nine Articles, and a general declaration against rebellion and sedition. That till the nonconformists could be better provided for by vacancies, they should have liberty to be school-masters, or assistants to incumbents, or to preach lectures in their churches; either such lectures as were already endowed with maintenance, or such as the people should be willing to maintain; and that in the mean time their meeting-places that were convenient, should be continued in use as chapels. That liberty be allowed for neighbours joining together in praying to God, and praising him, and repeating sermons, in their private houses without molestation. That for the Liturgy, &c. none be obliged to read the apocryphal lessons: that it be enough if an incumbent once in a quarter or half year, read the greatest part of the service for that time; and that it be at other times done by his curate or assistant. That lecturers be not obliged to read the service; or at most, that it be enough, if once in half a year they read the greatest part of what is appointed for that time. That parents have liberty to dedicate their own children to God in baptism, without being obliged to find godfathers and godmothers. That the use of the sign of the cross be left to the minister's inclination and discretion. That ministers be not forced to baptize a child whose parents are denied the communion of the church, unless some serious Christian undertake for its education, according to the Christian Covenant. That none be forced to receive the Sacrament while unfit or averse. That ministers be not forced to deliver the Sacrament to any unbaptized persons: or to such as will not own their baptismal covenant, and publicly profess their adherence to it; or to such as are guilty of scandalous

dalous immoralities, till they have professed repentance. That ministers be not forced to publish an excommunication, or absolution, against their consciences, upon the decree of a lay-chancellor, &c. or harrassed by attending their courts, to bring witnesses against those to whom they have refused the Sacrament upon the aforesaid reasons. That it be left to the discretion of ministers, whom they will absolve in sickness, and to whom they will give the Sacrament, and over whom they at their interment will use those few words which import the justification and salvation of the deceased: and that the sick and dying have the liberty of choosing what ministers they will to attend and assist them without restraint. That no ministers be forced to deny the Sacrament to such as think it unlawful to take it kneeling. That the use of the surplice be left indifferent. And that people who live under an ignorant or scandalous minister, have liberty to join with those with whom they can better profit, in any neighbouring church in the same diocese, paying the incumbent his dues. That no ordained ministers be put upon renouncing their ordination, but upon proof of their fitness for the ministry, receive by word, or a written instrument, a legal authority to exercise their ministry in any congregation in his majesty's dominions, where they shall be lawfully called. That no excommunicate person, as such, be imprisoned, or ruined. And that, after all, Christian lenity be used to all conscientious Dissenters; and that the tolerable be tolerated, under laws of peace and safety. Upon the whole he added, that if the Sacraments were but left free to be administered, and received by none but volunteers; and liberty granted to ministers to preach in those churches where the Common Prayer was read by others: and the subscriptions contain-
ed

ed nothing that a conscientious man might need to scruple: he thought it might take in all, even the Independents as well as Presbyterians."

Mr. Baxter gave the earl of Orrery these proposals; but he, after some time, returned them with bishop Morley's strictures and animadversions upon them, and they came to nothing.

In the year 1680, the house of commons finding no other way to keep Popery out of the nation, than by excluding the duke of York from the succession to the crown, they brought in a bill to disable him. On November the 11th, it passed the commons; on the 15th, it was carried up to the lords by the lord Russel, and there at the second reading it was thrown out by a majority of thirty voices, of which eight were bishops. Upon this the clergy in and about the city of London presented an address of thanks to the king for not agreeing to the bill of exclusion, which Dr. Tillotson refused to sign.

In the year 1681 died the reverend and pious Mr. Gouge, of whom Dr. Tillotson in his funeral sermon gives this excellent character, viz. "that he was of a disposition ready to embrace and oblige all men; allowing others to differ from him, even in opinions that were very dear to him; and provided men did but fear God, and work righteousness, he loved them heartily, how distant soever from him in judgment about things less necessary: in all which he is very worthy to be a pattern for men of all persuasions whatsoever." Mr. Gouge was a person of an uncommon piety and charity, and an indefatigable diligence in doing good. That which gives occasion to mention him here, is that he procured *the Church Catechism, the Practice of Piety*, and that best of books, *the Whole Duty of Man*, besides several other pious and useful

treatises, to be translated into the Welch tongue, and great numbers of them to be printed, and sent down to the chief towns in Wales, to be sold at easy rates to those that were able to buy them, and to be freely given to those that were not. But that which was the greatest work of all, and amounted indeed to a mighty charge, he procured a new and very fair impression of the Bible and Liturgy of the Church of England in the Welch tongue (the former impression being dispersed, and hardly twenty of them to be had in all London) to the number of eight thousand: one thousand whereof were freely given to the poor, and the rest sent to the principal cities and towns in Wales, to be sold to the rich at very reasonable and low rates, viz. at four shillings a piece, well bound and clasped; which was much cheaper than any English Bible was ever sold that was of so fair a print and paper. Towards the carrying on this charitable work, large and bountiful contributions (chiefly by his industry and prudent application) were obtained from charitable persons of all ranks and conditions, from the nobility and gentry of Wales and the neighbouring countries, and several of that quality in and about London: from divers of the right reverend bishops, and of the clergy; amongst the rest, Dr. Tillotson (then dean of St. Paul's) was a great promoter of this good and charitable undertaking, and contributed towards it fifty pounds. And indeed it was a work of that charge, that it was not likely to have been done any other way; and for which this age, and perhaps the next, will have great cause to thank God on his behalf.

In the year 1682, he laid a farther obligation upon the public, by giving them a volume of excellent sermons, consisting of fifteen in number,
from

from bishop Wilkins's papers, to which he prefixed the following preface :

“ I easily foresee, that in this censorious and inquisitive age, two questions will be asked concerning the publishing of these Sermons, why no sooner? or why at all? since so many come abroad every day, that the age is almost oppressed with them. To the *first* I answer, because I was not at leisure before to review them, and to get them transcribed out of a hand not legible enough for the press. To the *other*, because though there be many sermons, yet not many such ; whether we consider in them the usefulness and weight of the matters treated of; or the suitable manner of handling them, in a stile of so much clearness, and closeness, and strength, as was fitted (as he himself was wont to wish) to the capacity of the weakest, and the conviction of the strongest; or the solid and well poized judgment of the author in points of difficulty; or lastly, the admirable candour and moderation of his temper in matters of difference and dispute.

“ And I purposely mention his moderation, and likewise adventure to commend him for it; notwithstanding that this virtue, so much esteemed and magnified by wise men in all ages, hath of late been declaimed against with so much zeal and fierceness, and yet with that good grace and confidence, as if it were not only no virtue, but even the sum and abridgment of all vices. I say, notwithstanding all this, I am still of the old opinion, that moderation is a virtue, and one of the peculiar ornaments and advantages of the excellent constitution of our church, and must at last be the temper of her members, especially the clergy, if ever we seriously intend the firm establishment of this church, and do not industriously design by cherishing heats
and

and divisions among ourselves, to let in Popery at these breaches.

“ As to the author himself, I cannot forbear, out of a generous indignation, to see the ashes of so worthy a man trampled upon, to take notice of a very slight, and, I think, unjust character given of him in a late book, entituled, *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oroniensis*; whether by the author of that book, or by some other hand, is variously reported, and I am not curious to know. The former part of the character is chiefly made up of invidious reflections upon his carriage, and the circumstances of his condition in the late times; in all which, because I did not then know him, I leave him to be vindicated or censured by those who were witnesses of his whole behaviour and temper in that time. The latter part of it consists of flat and ill-favoured commendations; as, that he was *philosophiæ et mathematicæ addictissimus*, a great well-willer to philosophy and the mathematics; the exact character of an empirick and an almanack-maker, when these two excellencies happen to be in conjunction: and then, that to the study of divinity he added, *eloquentiam in concionando non contemnendam*, an eloquence in preaching not to be despised; which though it be but a very cold and slender commendation both of his divinity and his eloquence, yet I must own something of kindness in it, because there is in good earnest a sort of eloquence in preaching that is to be despised. To finish the kindness, and that nothing might be omitted that might any ways cast an odium upon him, as he is placed next before Mr. Hobbes, so I cannot but observe in comparing their characters, that there is apparently far less of envy and detraction in that of Mr. Hobbes, than in this of the reverend bishop; for which I can
I imagine

imagine no other reason but this, that Mr. Hobbes was then alive to speak for himself, but the dead bite not.

“ Upon the whole, it hath often been no small matter of wonder to me, whence it should come to pass, that so great a man, and so great a lover of mankind, who had the inclination, the skill, and the opportunity to oblige so very many, and was so highly valued and revered by all that knew him; should yet have the hard fate to fall under the heavy displeasure and censure of those who knew him not: and that he who never did any thing to make himself one personal enemy, should have the ill fortune to have so many. I think I may truly say, that there are, or have been, very few in this age and nation, so well known, and so greatly esteemed and favoured, first by a judicious prince, and then by so many persons of high rank and quality, and of singular worth and eminency in all the learned professions, as our author was.

“ And this surely cannot be denied him, it is so well known to many worthy persons yet living, and hath been so often acknowledged even by his enemies, that in the late times of confusion, almost all that was preserved and kept up of ingenuity and learning, of good order and government in the University of Oxford, was chiefly owing to his prudent conduct and encouragement. Which consideration alone, had there been no other, might have prevailed with some there to have treated his memory with at least common kindness and respect. Not to do this to the dead, and in a character of him that was intended to live to posterity, seems very hard; and yet I shall only make this soft reflection upon it, that there is no readier way for any man to bring his own worth into question, than

than by endeavouring to detract from the universally acknowledged worth of other men.

“ Having said this out of justice as well as friendship to the author, and by way of necessary vindication of him, from the envy endeavoured to be raised against him by some in this present age, I leave these Discourses of his to justify themselves and him to posterity.

J. TILLOTSON.”

In 1683, my lord Russel was beheaded for treason, as was pretended; but in reality, for his vigorous opposition to Popery and arbitrary government. During his imprisonment, he was frequently visited by those two learned divines, Dr. Burnet, late bishop of Sarum, and our most excellent primate. When that lord was under condemnation, he writ him the following letter, which will fairly clear him from a false representation made of him as no friend to that doctrine of the Church of England, *passive obedience*.

“ My Lord,

“ I was heartily glad to see your lordship this morning in that calm and devout temper at the receiving the blessed Sacrament; but peace of mind, unless it be well grounded, will avail little: and because transient discourse many times hath little effect for want of time to weigh and consider it; therefore in tender compassion of your lordship's case, and from all the good-will that one man can bear to another, I do humbly offer to your lordship's deliberate thoughts these following considerations concerning the points of resistance, if our religion and rights should be invaded, as your lordship puts the case; concerning which I understand
by

by Dr. Burnet that your lordship had once received satisfaction, and am sorry to find a change.

“ First, that the Christian religion doth plainly forbid the resistance of authority.

“ Secondly, that though our religion be established by law (which your lordship urges as a difference between our case and that of the primitive Christians) yet in the same law which establishes our religion it is declared, *that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up arms, &c.* Besides that, there is a particular law declaring the power of the militia to be solely in the king. And that ties the hands of subjects, though the law of nature, and the general rules of Scripture had left us at liberty; which I believe they do not; because the government and peace of human society could not well subsist upon those terms.

“ Thirdly, your lordship's opinion is contrary to the declared doctrine of all Protestant churches; and though some particular persons have taught otherwise, yet they have been contradicted herein, and condemned for it by the generality of Protestants. And I beg your lordship to consider, how it will agree with an avowed asserting of the Protestant religion, to go contrary to the general doctrine of Protestants.

“ My end in this is to convince your lordship, that you are in a very great and dangerous mistake; and being so convinced, that which before was a sin of ignorance, will appear of a much more heinous nature, as in truth it is, and call for a very particular and deep repentance; which if your lordship sincerely exercise upon the sight of your error, by a penitent acknowledgment of it to God and men, you will not only obtain forgiveness of God, but prevent a mighty scandal to the Reformed Religion. I am very loth to give your lordship
any

any disquiet in the distress you are in, which I commiserate from my heart, but am much more concerned that you do not leave the world in a delusion and false peace, to the hindrance of your eternal happiness. I heartily pray for you, and beseech your lordship to believe that I am with the greatest sincerity and compassion in the world,

My lord,

Your lordship's most faithful

and afflicted servant,

J. TILLOTSON."

July 20, 1683.

And in his last prayer with his lordship on the scaffold, he thus concludes, "Grant, Lord, that all we who survive, by this and other instances of thy providence, may learn our duty to God and the king." What could a man have said more in behalf of any doctrine of the Church of England? And though he did comply with the revolution, yet it is most certain that he never changed his opinion in this point, although his enemies charge him with * "apostacy from his once avowed principle and doctrine of the Church of England, the once venerable doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience: in which our church hath taught her children how they should behave themselves towards men, and approve themselves towards God, if she and they should come to be persecuted for the trial of their faith, as the purest churches and best Christians have been in former ages."

* See a pamphlet, entitled, *Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, &c.* p. 35.

I cannot

I cannot make a better reply to this accusation, than in the words of the late learned bishop of Sarum, in his answer to the foresaid pamphlet, which does undeniably prove that here was no change of principles, nor departing from former opinions.

“As I have” (says his Lordship “expressly and publicly owned a reserve for resistance in case of a total subversion; so I must add, that to my knowledge, other divines still understood that doctrine of non-resistance with this reserve; though they did not think it necessary to mention it. If a man were to exhort married persons to their duty, he might use that general expression of St. Paul, *that the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the Church; and that as the Church is subject unto Christ, so wives ought to be subject to their own husbands in every thing*: he might say all this, without an exception; and yet in the case of intolerable cruelty, the wife may see to her own preservation; but desertion or adultery sets her more at liberty. In the same manner, when we exhort children *to obey their parents in all things*; we do not suppose the case of their parents going about to kill them, nor argue what they may do in such a case. Extraordinary cases ought not to be supposed, when we give the directions that belong to the ordinary course of life; and therefore divines might preach submission in very large and full expressions, who yet might believe, that a total subversion was a case of another nature, which might warrant more violent remedies. This I am sure was our late primate’s opinion. This was that which we laid before that great, but innocent victim, that was sacrificed to the rage of a party, I mean the lord Russell, who was condemned for treasonable words, though there

there was not one witness that swore one word against him: it being only deposed, that treasonable words were said in his hearing; to which, as was sworn, he was consenting, though no words of his were expressed, that imported any such consent. The true case of that whole matter was stated thus; a visible design was carried on to bring in Popery and arbitrary government. In order to that, *quo warranto's* were brought against several cities and boroughs, which would have changed the constitution of the House of Commons; and sheriffs unduly elected were put on the City of London, on design, as it was believed, to pack juries. These things were thought just grounds of resistance; the late primate and myself were of another opinion. We knew, or at least had reason to believe we knew, the secret of the king's religion who then reigned; and did not doubt of the bad designs that were then on foot, and of the illegal actings of that time; yet we still thought that remote fears and consequences, together with illegal practices, did not justify resistances; but that the laws both of the Gospel and of the land, did bind us in that case to submission. That Lord upon this, said, he did not see a difference between a legal and a Turkish constitution, upon this hypothesis: and when we told him, that a total subversion changed the case, he answered, then it would be too late to resist. In all that affair the late primate had the same opinion, and no other than that he had to the last. Some particular considerations restrained him from writing about it; but he did not decline to explain this, as oft as there was occasion given for it.

“ Upon the whole matter, there are two questions in the point of resistance: the one is, whether subjects may resist merely upon the account

count of religion, or not, either to force a general reformation, or to secure themselves from persecution? the other is concerning the constitution of states and kingdoms; and of this in particular, how far they have retained or lost their liberties? the one is a point of divinity, the other is a point of law and history. As to the first, I do not know one of all the divines that have sworn to the present government, who are not still of the same opinion that they were formerly of, and that do not still judge resistance on the account of religion to be unlawful. Nor does it any way reflect on them, if they should have changed their opinion in the other point, which falls not so properly within their studies. They might have been misled by chimerical notions of imperial and political laws; they might have thought that the zeal with which some had promised to stand it out against a popish king, threatening that they would tell him to his face (at least owning that it was their duty to do it) that he was an idolater, a bread-worshipper, a goddess-worshipper *, with a great many other fine names, that they said they would give him. They might, I say, have thought, that we were safe under the conduct of men, who were so bold when there was no danger; but were much tamer and more cautious as the danger came nearer them. Thus many might go into wrong notions of our government, and think we had no liberties left us, but what were at the discretion of our princes. It is no derogation from the learning and studies of divines to own, that though they are still of their former opinion in that which is theological, and that was only incumbent on them to know; yet in matters of law and policy, they might have been

* Jovian, p. 96.

led into mistakes. This answers all that pompous objection, with which so much noise is made, and upon which so many ill words have been fastened. A great many have not at all changed their opinion, even in this second point; and others do see that they were mistaken in their opinion concerning our constitution, and the nature of laws and legal security; and the right that arises out of these, in the case of a total subversion."

He has been also represented as no lover of the Liturgy of the Church of England. Dr. Calamy tells the following story of him*: "Dr. Tillotson frankly owning in a sermon, that the Dissenters had some plausible objections against the Common-Prayer, archbishop Sancroft sending for him to reprimand him, he stood to what he had asserted. The archbishop asked him which parts of the Common-Prayer he meant; and he mentioned the Burial Office; upon which that archbishop owned to him that he was so little satisfied with that office himself, that for that very reason he had never taken a cure of souls." And because the truth of this story has been called in question, Dr. Calamy says, that he had it under the hand of Mr. Stancliffe, who wrote that passage in the margin of his abridgment, and afterwards was so kind as to send him the book for his own use. I shall not contest the truth of this story, let it be true or false, this worthy prelate's zeal and affection for the Church of England will sufficiently appear by the great numbers he brought over to her communion.

This year (1683) he published the works of the learned Dr. Isaac Barrow, Master of Trinity College, in Cambridge. And the year following he

* Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's History, &c. p. 226.

published the works of his intimate friend, the excellent Mr. Hezekiah Burton.

Now let us view this good man in a scene of friendship. In the year 1687, his intimate acquaintance, Mr. Nicholas Hunt, of Canterbury, lay dangerously ill of a cancer, and when Dr. Tillotson was informed that he was past recovery, he sent him the following excellent letter of consolation, to comfort and support him under the pressure of his lingering indisposition:

“ Edmonton, January 16th, 1687-8.

“ SIR,

“ I am sorry to understand by Mr. Janeway's letter to my son, that your distemper grows upon you; and that you seem to decline so fast. I am very sensible how much easier it is to give advice against trouble in the case of another, than to take it in our own.

“ It hath pleased God to exercise me of late with a very sore trial, in the loss of my dear and only child, in which I do perfectly submit to his good pleasure, firmly believing that he always does that which is best; and yet, though reason be satisfied, our passion is not so soon appeased; and when nature has received a wound, time must be allowed for the healing of it. Since that, God hath thought fit to give me a nearer summons, and a closer warning of my own mortality, in the danger of an apoplexy: which yet, I thank God for it, hath occasioned no very melancholy reflections; but this perhaps is more owing to natural temper, than philosophy and wise considerations.

“ Your case, I know, is very different, who are of a temper naturally melancholy, and under a distemper apt to increase it; for both which great allowances

lowances ought to be made. And yet, methinks, both reason and religion do offer us considerations of that solidity and strength, as may very well support our spirits under all frailties and infirmities of the flesh; such as these:

“ That God is perfect love and goodness; that we are not only his creatures, but his children, and are as dear to him as to ourselves; that he does not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men; and that all evils of afflictions which befall us, are intended for the cure and prevention of greater evils of sin and punishment; and therefore we ought not only to submit to them with patience, as being deserved by us, but to receive them with thankfulness, as being designed by him to do us that good, and to bring us to that sense of him and ourselves which nothing else perhaps would have done: that the sufferings of this present life are but short and light, compared with those extreme and endless miseries which we have deserved; and with that exceeding and eternal weight of glory which we hope for in the other world; that if we be careful to make the best preparations for death and eternity, whatever brings us nearer our end, brings us nearer to our happiness; and how rugged soever the way be, the comfort is, that it leads us to our Father's house, where we shall want nothing we can wish for. Now we labour under a dangerous distemper, which threatens our life, what would we not be contented to bear, in order to a perfect recovery, could we but be assured of it? and should we not be willing to endure much more, in order to happiness, and that eternal life which God that cannot lie hath promised? Nature, I know, is fond of life, and apt to be still lingering after a longer continuance here; and yet a long life, with the usual burthens and infirmities of it, is seldom desirable;

sirable; it is but the same things over again, or worse. So many more nights and days, summers and winters, a repetition of the same pleasures, but with less pleasure and relish every day; a return of the same, and greater pains and trouble, but with less strength and patience to bear them. These and the like considerations I use to entertain myself withal, not only with contentment but comfort; though with great inequality of temper at several times, and with much mixture of human frailties, which will always stick to us, while we are in this world. However, by these kinds of thoughts death seems more familiar to us, and we shall be able by degrees to bring our minds close up to it, without starting at it. The greatest tenderness I find in myself is with regard to some near relations; especially the dear and constant companion of my life, which I confess doth very sensibly touch me: but then I consider, and so, I hope, will they also, that this separation will be but a very little while; and that though I shall leave them in a bad world, yet under the care and protection of a good God, who can be more and better to them than all other relations, and will certainly be so to those that love him, and hope in his mercy.

“ I shall not need to advise you what to do, and what use to make of this time of your visitation. I have reason to believe, that you have been careful in the time of your health to prepare for the evil day, and have been conversant in those books which give the best directions to this purpose; and have not, as too many do, put off the great work of your life to the end of it. And then you have nothing to do, but as well as you can, under your present weakness and pains, to renew your repentance for all the errors and miscarriages of your life;

and earnestly to beg God's pardon and forgiveness of them, for his sake who is the propitiation for our sins: to comfort yourself in the goodness and the promises of God, and the hopes of that happiness you are ready to enter into; and in the mean time to exercise faith and patience for a little while; and be of good courage, since you see land; the storm which you are in will soon be over, and then it will be as if it had never been; or rather the remembrance of it will be pleasant.

"I do not use to write such long letters, but I do heartily compassionate your case, and should be glad if I could suggest any thing that might help to mitigate your trouble, and make the sharp and rugged way through which you are to pass into a better world, a little more smooth and easy.

"I pray God to fit us both for that great change which we must once undergo; and if we be but in any good measure fit for it, sooner or later, makes no great difference.

"I commend you to the Father of all mercies, and the God of all consolation; beseeching him to increase your faith and patience, and to stand by you in your last and great conflict; that when you walk through the valley of the shadow of death, you may fear no evil; and when your heart fails, and your strength fails, you may find him the strength of your heart, and your portion for ever.

"Farewell, my good friend, and whilst we are here, let us pray for one another, that we may have a joyful meeting in another world. So I rest, sir,

Your truly affectionate friend and servant,

J. TILLOTSON."

Mr.

Mr. Hunt received this letter with great joy, and during his long sickness behaved himself with a truly Christian fortitude; shortly after, it pleased God to remove him from this painful life to that of bliss and immortality.

The Revolution found Dr. Tillotson dean of Canterbury and residentiary of St. Paul's, both eminent stations in the Church, though inferior to his merit; yet was the possessor humble enough to think them too considerable for one person. However he made the best use of them, their revenues serving only to enlarge his capacity of doing good, and giving him an occasion to scatter the seeds of virtue in more different soils, by which some at least might fall upon good ground, and multiply exceedingly. One, who knew him perhaps as well as any man, assures us, that he neither slackened his labours, nor advanced his fortunes by his preferments. He did not content himself with such a residence as answered the statute; that was barely doing his duty, and only the avoidance of scandal, a pitch of virtue too low for one who had so just a notion of piety, and so lively a sense of the force of example. He gave as much of his time and labours to his Cathedral, as was consistent with his obligation to attendance on the court. Neither when he was there, by the necessity of his duty (for he was the king's chaplain) did he make that use of a court soil as is usual, but contented himself with deserving, not soliciting greater preferments.

In the year 1689, it was soon discovered what interest this great man might have made, if his temper would have allowed him, in the court of king William and queen Mary, who were so fond and desirous of having him near them, to advise them, as well in the public, as their own private

religious concerns, that they gave him the place of clerk of the closet, on purpose to oblige him to a more frequent resort to court. These princes, who had so happily preserved our endangered religion, sought out for the best means, and fittest instruments to secure and establish it against any future relapse; and as soon, therefore, as the civil liberties were a little settled, the ecclesiastical came next under their consideration. The powerful interest of the Papists in the late reign, had laid the poor Nonconformists under the penalty of several severe laws, which were accounted no small dishonour to the Protestant name. But now these being suspended by an Act of Toleration, and a Christian liberty indulged to Dissenters; some who were not contented with this favourable act alone, strove to back it with another, which was calculated to take them all into the bosom of the Church of England. This scheme was well known by the name of the Comprehension, of which some were very fond, and others wholly averse to it; both parties thinking themselves in the right, and actuated by the true spirit of Christianity, fell into very indecent, and unchristian treatment of each other; the common, but fatal effects of attempts in alterations of religion. However, a bill was brought in and passed the House of Peers, but when it came to the Commons they desired his majesty to summon a convocation, and lay the matter before them. And here the patrons and sticklers for church power, would do well to consider the service Dr. Tillotson did their cause upon this occasion, and retract some, at least, of the severe calumnies they have loaded his memory with, as one who was no friend to his own order, and bent upon abridging it of its undoubted privileges. What notice we take of the fact, as it is related by Dr, Nichols,

Nichols, shall not only be historical, but, if possible, such as may wipe off these aspersions; such remarks having a fair connection to the life of the person which we are relating. First then, take the account of Dr. Nichols*, “Whilst this bill was passing, Dr. Tillotson, a person of excellent judgment, and then clerk of the closet to the king, declared his opinion against it. And as he had a great interest in the king’s affections, so he made use of it in bringing him over to his opinion in this matter. He laid before him how frequently we had been reflected on by the Papists, that our reformation was founded chiefly upon parliamentary authority; that we should not give them a handle for any such objection for the future: that the affairs of the Church did chiefly belong to synodical authority, and if they were passed by the venerable members of the convocation, they would not only be more acceptable to the body of the clergy, but would be more religiously observed by the laity. Adding, moreover, that least affairs of this nature, consisting of such a multitude of particulars, might too slowly go on in so numerous a body, the best way would be, as had formerly been done, to commissionate several of the most eminent of the clergy to consider of some methods how to heal the wounds of the Church, and to establish a perpetual peace among us: what they should agree upon, to be considered over again by the more consummate wisdom of a convocation: and what these should consent to, should be established first by the Synodical, and afterwards by the parliamentary authority.”

This was certainly very reasonable advice, and of no small moment to the Church, as it took off

* Vide a Defence of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England. 12mo. Page 116, 117.

the objection of a parliamentary religion, an objection which the Papists have urged with all their force of argument and wit. I shall not consider whether the Roman Catholics way of reasoning is just, it being sufficient to say, that they imputed it as an high scandal to the Church of England, to owe its settlement to such a hand; and therefore the mitigation of that scandal was wresting an arrow out of the quiver of the enemy, or at least rendering it incapable of wounding when it was thrown. Beside, that this prudent course which Dr. Tillotson advised, seemed the most probable of any to take effect, as not irritating the spirits of men by lessening their authority on either side, the ecclesiastical and civil powers being both preserved in their rights, and exercising their distinct provinces by this method which he prescribed. How much controversy and contention do we here see vanish into nothing! only by putting business in the proper channel it should flow in, which a less cool head might have easily confounded, and got a reputation too for doing either party so considerable a service, as engaging them in a quarrel. But I believe I need not urge the wise management of this worthy person any farther, as an argument of his respect to the Church, or his tender regard to her authority. Dr. Calamy*, and sure the words of an enemy may be useful, says, *that it was a very bad piece of advice*, and would insinuate to his readers, as if the adviser himself repented it afterwards. But till he can find a better reason for it, than his bare conjecture, we ought to believe, that the man who was honest enough to give such good counsel, had before considered the matter so well, as to take care that it should never give him any other

* Vide his Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life, page 446.

uneasiness, than what arose from its want of success.

The king, in compliance to this advice, summoned a convocation; and issued out another commission to thirty divines to prepare matters to be laid before the convocation, in this affair of the Comprehension. It may not be improper, considering the great share Dr. Tillotson had in this business, to insert the commission in this place, which is as follows:

“Whereas the particular forms of Divine worship, and the rites and ceremonies appointed to be used therein, being things in their own nature indifferent and alterable, and so acknowledged, it is but reasonable, that upon weighty and important considerations, according to the various exigencies of times and occasions, such changes and alterations should be made therein, as to those that are in place and authority, should from time to time seem either necessary or expedient.

“And whereas the Book of Canons is fit to be reviewed, and made more suitable to the state of the Church; and whereas there are defects and abuses in the ecclesiastical courts and jurisdictions; and particularly, there is not sufficient provision made for the removing of scandalous ministers, and for the reforming of manners either in ministers or people; and whereas it is most fit that there should be a strict method prescribed for the examination of such persons as desire to be admitted into holy orders, both as to their learning and manners.

“We therefore, out of our pious and princely care for the good order, and edification, and unity of the Church of England, committed to our charge and care; and for the reconciling, as much as is possible,

possible, of all differences among our good subjects; and to take away all occasion of the like for the future, have thought fit to authorize and impower you, &c. and any nine of you, whereof three to be bishops, to meet from time to time, as often as shall be needful, and to prepare such alterations of the liturgy and canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, and to consider of such other matters as in your judgments may most conduce to the ends above mentioned."

Ten of the commissioners were then bishops, viz. Dr. Lamplugh, archbishop of York, Dr. Compton, Dr. Mew, Dr. Lloyd, Dr. Sprat, Dr. Smith, sir Jonathan Trelawny, Dr. Burnet, Dr. Humfreys, and Dr. Stratford, who were the bishops of London, Winchester, St. Asaph, Rochester, Carlisle, Exeter, Salisbury, Bangor, and Chester. Twenty other dignitaries were added to them; as Dr. Stillingfleet, Dr. Patrick, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Meggot, Dr. Sharp, Dr. Kidder, Dr. Aldrich, Dr. Jane, Dr. Hall, Dr. Beaumont, Dr. Montague, Dr. Goodman, Dr. Beveridge, Dr. Battely, Dr. Alston, Dr. Tennison, Dr. Scott, Dr. Fowler, Dr. Grove, and Dr. Williams.

Dr. Nichols* thus proceeds: "The reverend persons do now forthwith apply themselves to the business which was laid before them, and begin their work with a review of the Common-Prayer Book. And first of all the calendar comes under examination, from whence the apocryphal lessons are expunged, and chapters out of the canonical books are substituted to be read in their room. The creed, which is called Athanasius's, because it

* Vide ut supra, page 118. & seq.

is found fault with by some persons by reason of the damnatory sentences, is permitted to be changed for the Apostle's creed at the discretion of the minister. The Collects throughout the whole course of the year are revised, most of them being made anew, and rendered more suitable to the Epistles and Gospels of the day; and this with so much elegance and purity of stile, with so much pious force and ardour, as nothing could tend more to excite devotion in the minds of the hearers, and to raise up their souls to God. They were first drawn up by Dr. Simon Patrick, who had an excellent talent this way; Dr. Gilbert Burnet added a further life, and force, and spirit to them; after this they underwent the exquisite judgment of Dr. Stillingfleet; the last and finishing stroke being given to them by Dr. Tillotson, who polished over whatever was left rough in the compositions, with his smooth language and flowingness of his easy eloquence. They likewise agreed upon a new translation of the Psalms to be read in the daily service of the church, more agreeable to the original than the present is; which province was assigned to Dr. Kidder, a person excellently well versed in the Oriental tongues. Some few expressions and words, which lying scattered about the Liturgy, are found fault with by its adversaries, were collected by Dr. Tennison; such clear expressions being substituted in their stead, as were not liable to be excepted against by the most captious. There are some few other things proposed, but which were entirely to be referred to the synod. First of all, that the cross in baptism should be in the election of the parents either to have it signed in the children's foreheads, or omitted. Secondly, if any nonconformist minister should return to the church, he was not, as the custom is now, to undergo a new ordi

ordination; but to be admitted into the church by a conditional ordination, like as we are wont to do in the baptism of those persons, of whom it is uncertain whether they are baptized or no; the bishop's hands being imposed on them, as was the custom among the * Ancients, in receiving those clergy in the church who had been ordained by heretics. Which was the method used by † archbishop Bramhall, primate of Ireland, when he gave ordination to any, who had received Presbyterian orders in the times of the late confusion.

“ The convocation soon after assembled, all the clergy either avowedly or in their minds highly approving or condemning what had been done by the commissioners with relation to the alterations. The greater part of the clergy of the convocation being displeased with those who had declared for the alterations, were very earnest to make Dr. Jane the regius professor of Oxford, prolocutor of the convocation. The rest being persons of very great esteem in the church, gave their votes for Dr. Tillotson; but being over-powered by numbers, their attempt in that affair was but in vain.

“ After this the king ordering the convocation to attend him, he declares his mind to them to this purpose: he gives them earnest assurances of his favour; and tells them how much it was his desire, that all his subjects should live peaceably and lovingly one with another, and unite in one manner of worship: that to this end he had appointed commissioners to prepare, and lay before the convocation such things as they thought fit should be alter-

“ * Dionys. Alexand. apud Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. cap. 2. Con. Nic. 1. Can. 8. Just. sive Author Resp. ad Othodox Resp. 18 Theod. Hist. Eccl. lib. 1. cap. 8.

† Vide Bishop Bramhall's Life before his Works.

ed: that he heartily wished a good agreement among them, and that the points in dispute might be handled with that mild and charitable temper which becomes ministers of the Gospel.

“ But many of the convocation men had entertained an opinion which was never to be eradicated out of their minds, that by this device of alterations, a design was laid to undermine the church: that episcopacy being already abolished in Scotland, there were now attempts made against the same in England. That they were afraid many of the commissioners for the alterations were embarked in the same unwarrantable project, or imposed upon by the fallacies of designing men. That the Dissenters, although out of the church, were already very formidable enemies to it, but if let into the church they would overturn its constitution. That the church was sufficiently protected by the act of Uniformity, which if once repealed, they knew not what the then present parliament, which they thought shewed too much friendship to the Dissenters, might establish in lieu thereof. That they had rather have what was present and safe, than what was future and uncertain.

“ The other party pleaded thus, that the unhappy contentions between the nonconformists and us had too long raged: that now both of us being tired with quarrelling, wished for peace: that unless the convocation did offer some terms of accommodation, the bishops would not be able to justify themselves, in making good what they had in the late reign so religiously promised. That it was understood by all who so highly approved their propositions, that they made this offer of reconciliation with the Dissenters, in the name of all the members of our church, and therefore it would be an unworthy thing to promise that, in the time of
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our adversity, which in our prosperity we should refuse to make good. That the king being now earnestly bent upon this design, would use all his interest to promote it; but if we should provoke him by making him undergo a repulse in this attempt, he would not so easily be brought again to comply with it, when we ourselves should desire it: that the king had ordered nothing to be laid before the parliament, but what should be before agreed to by the convocation: that if the parliament should design any thing unkind to the church, they might establish it by a secular law for all that the convocation could do to hinder it. And lastly, though the nonconformists should obstinately refuse to come into the church upon the concessions which were made for their sakes, yet nothing was laid before the convocation but what would tend to the greater honour of the church: that by these alterations the constitution of the church would be bettered, and all pretence of separation would be taken away.

“ Disputes on both sides were carried on with great eagerness, and at last the synod is dissolved, without concluding any thing. But no misfortune so sensibly afflicted the church, as this dissention between the clergy. For hitherto our clergy had lived with great concord among themselves, not to be divided by any arts of their adversaries. For in the late times, under their most afflicted condition, when they were turned out of, or sequestered from, their livings, by reason of their good correspondence with one another, they bore their afflictions the more easily. And afterwards, when their condition was bettered, no envy, which is wont to dissolve the friendship of others, was able to interrupt their amity: but now, when all of them, perhaps, in their several ways, were desirous to promote

mote the good of the church, they unfortunately accused each other for carrying on designs for its ruin." Thus far Dr. Nichols.

In the year 1691, after a long and patient expectation on the side of the government, that the nonjuring bishops would comply to take the oaths, which they at last absolutely refused, it was resolved to deprive them, and fill up the vacant sees. Among these, archbishop Sancroft was one, whom no overtures nor condescensions on the part of some great reconcilers, could bring to acquiesce in the conduct of the Revolution, and take the oaths to the king and queen. It is not to our purpose to examine into the reasons of his refusal; a great and good man he surely was, though without any disrespect to his memory, we may say, far inferior to his successor Dr. Tillotson. He it was who was pitched upon in these difficult times to sit at the head, and steer the church. His natural modesty made him earnestly at first withstand the royal favour, though he was at last prevailed upon to accept of it; and certainly a fitter person in every man's opinion, but his own, could not be found. It will not be improper to set down the words of a great historian, which give us both the motives of his refusal, and acceptance of that high dignity. "He withstood it not," (says the bishop of Salisbury *), "from any feeble or fearful considerations relating to himself: he was not afraid of a party, nor concerned in such censures and calumnies as might be thrown upon him: he was not unwilling to sacrifice the quiet of his life, which he apprehended might soon decline and sink under so great a load. The pomp of greatness, the attendance upon courts, and a high station, were indeed very

* In his Funeral-Sermon.

contrary to his genius: but though these were grounds good enough to make him unwilling to rise higher in the world, yet none of them seemed strong enough to fix him to an obstinate refusal. That which went the deepest in his own mind, and which he laid out the most earnestly before their majesties, was, that those groundless prejudices with which his enemies had loaded him, had been so industriously propagated, while they were neglected by himself, that he believed that he, who (as his humility made him think) could at no time do any great service, was less capable of it now than ever. But their majesties persisting in their intentions, he thought it was the voice and call of God to him, and so he submitted: yet with a heaviness of mind that no man knew better than myself. But as he engaged in it, he formed two settled resolutions, from which he never departed. The one was, that whensoever the state of their majesties affairs was such, that he could hope to be dismissed from that post, he would become a most importunate suitor to be delivered from it. The other was, that if the infirmities of age should have so overtaken him that he could not go through the fatigue and labours of it, then he would humbly offer it up to their majesties: and he charged some of his most particular friends to use all freedom with him in this matter, if they should observe it, before it were perceived by himself." Thus the bishop of Salisbury; and for my own part, I think it unfair to suspect an account given from one who had so many opportunities of a right information from a personal knowledge, and intimate acquaintance with this great man. This kind of holy force, if we may so call it, had been used in the primitive times to many of the fathers; nor was his carriage less humble, or his conduct less glorious than theirs,
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in the short scene which he acted on this stage. Consonant to this, see that most excellent Form of Prayer* which he composed on this occasion: and the preparation thereto, for that great trust with which he was about to be invested; take in his own words, viz.

“ May 30, 1691. The day before my consecration to the archbishopric, which was on Whit-Sunday, at St. Mary-le-Bow, when, on Whit-Sunday eve I retired to Edmonton, to spend that day in fasting and prayer, to implore the blessing of Almighty God upon that action, and the assistance of his grace and Holy Spirit to be vouchsafed to his sinful and unworthy servant, whom his wise providence, and the importunate desire of their majesties, king William and queen Mary, the best of princes, (whom God in great mercy to a most sinful and perverse people hath by a most signal providence set upon the throne of these kingdoms, and sent (I trust) to be our deliverers and benefactors for many generations yet to come) have called to the government and conduct of this miserably distracted church in a very difficult and dangerous time.

“ I began with a short prayer to Almighty God to prepare my heart for the duty of this day, and to assist me in the discharge of it, in such a manner as might be acceptable in his sight, through Jesus Christ my blessed Saviour and Redeemer.

“ I proceeded next to a thanksgiving to Almighty God for his mercy and goodness to me in the conduct of my whole life, from my first entrance into the world, to this day.

“ Next, I made an humble and penitent confes-

* See the 14th volume of his Posthumous Works, p. 204 et seq.

sion of my sins, and earnest supplication for the pardon and forgiveness of them.

“ Next a prayer for God’s blessing upon me, and his Holy Spirit to be conferred upon me, in the solemn dedication of me the day following to this high and holy office.

“ Then I read the prayers in the consecration office. I concluded with a prayer for the king and queen, and a short ejaculation.”

This his behaviour, was, I think, truly primitive, and a sure presage of that peace and tranquillity the church would enjoy under so good a pastor. But no sooner was he possessed of this eminent station, than that restless party who had opposed all his former kind offices relating to the comprehension, began to murmur, and express their resentments at his promotion; but such men gave him no uneasiness. “ He being,” (says Dr. * Nichols), “ a man of an extraordinary piety, and a great lover of peace; and for fear that any reflection should be cast upon our religion, upon account of the disagreement of the most considerable men of the church, upon the controversy concerning alterations, he did omit letting the convocation sit for a considerable time. Neither was there any man, at that time, that was displeased at this long recess of that body. They that were for alterations did hope, that after a considerable intermission, all men’s passions would be so asswaged, that they would consent together in the same opinion. And those of the other party were not displeased, that those matters which they had not a liking to, were not again importunately urged upon them; especially when the occasion was taken away, of being obliged to reject what was proposed to them

* Vide ut supra, p. 124, &c.

by their prince, and that they were not necessitated to incur the displeasure of their present archbishop." Thus (says the bishop of Salisbury) he went on, while his enemies were still endeavouring to bear down a reputation, which gave him, as they thought, too great an authority.

In the year 1693, his grace published four incomparable sermons concerning the divinity and incarnation of our blessed Saviour. "The true reason whereof," (the reader is told in a short advertisement before them) "was not that which is commonly alledged for printing books, the importunity of friends; but the importunate clamours and calumnies of others, whom the author heartily prays God to forgive, and to give them better minds: and to grant that the ensuing discourses, the publication whereof was in so great a degree necessary, may by his blessing prove in some measure useful."

But among the inconveniences which he expected in the due discharge of this difficult office, he found one advantage, which was his retirement from that multitude of labours, which either his necessary business, or his friendships poured in upon him. This left him at leisure to bend his thoughts towards the good of the whole church, sometimes himself proposing useful designs for it, sometimes encouraging those of others, and always praying for its prosperity. To this end he, who lived but for the good of others, began to choose out some more of his excellent sermons, such as he thought were the best calculated for the universal promotion of virtue and piety. These he especially directed for inculcating the principles of *early religion, family duties, and the education of children*; considerations of the most extensive and necessary influence on the minds and lives of man-

kind. See how the good bishop speaks of them in the tenderness of a fatherly and primitive spirit, in the following preface, which certainly breaths the soul of that incomparable man.

“ Being, I hope, for the remainder of my life, released from that irksome and unpleasant work of controversy and wrangling about religion, I shall now turn my thoughts to something more agreeable to my temper, and of a more direct and immediate tendency to the promoting of true religion, to the happiness of human society, and the reformation of the world.

“ I have no intention to reflect upon any that stand up in defence of the truth, and contend earnestly for it, endeavouring in the spirit of meekness to reclaim those that are in error. For I doubt not but a very good man may upon several occasions be almost unavoidably engaged in controversies of religion; and if he have a head clear and cool enough, so as to be master of his own notions and temper in that hot kind of service, he may therein do considerable advantage to the truth: though a man that hath once *drawn blood in controversy*, as Mr. Mede expresseth it, is seldom known ever perfectly to recover his own good temper afterwards.

“ For this reason a good man should not be very willing, *when his Lord comes, to be found so doing, and as it were beating his fellow-servants*: and all controversy, as it is usually managed, is little better. A good man would be loth to be taken out of the world reeking hot, from a sharp contention with a perverse adversary; and not a little out of countenance, to find himself in this temper translated into the calm and peaceable regions of the blessed, where nothing but perfect charity and goodwill reign for ever.

“ I know not whether St. Paul, who had been *taken up into the third heavens*, did by that question of his, *Where is the disputer of this world?* intend to insinuate, that this wrangling work hath place only in this world, and upon this earth, where only there is a dust to be raised; but will have no place in the other. But whether St. Paul intended this or not, the thing itself I think is true, that in the other world all things will be clear and past dispute: to be sure, among the blessed, and probably also among the miserable, unless fierce and furious contentions, with great heat without light, about things of no moment and concernment to them, should be designed for a part of their torment.

“ As to the following sermons, I am sensible that the style of them is more loose and full of words, than is agreeable to just and exact discourses: but so I think the style of popular sermons ought to be. And therefore I have not been very careful to mend this matter; chusing rather that they should appear in that native simplicity in which, so many years ago, they were first framed, than dressed up with too much care and art. As they are, I hope the candid and ingenuous readers will take them in good part.

“ And I do heartily wish that all that are concerned in the respective duties, treated on in the following sermons, would be persuaded so to lay them to heart, as to put them effectually in practice: that how much soever the reformation of this corrupt and degenerate age in which we live is almost utterly to be despaired of, we may yet have a more comfortable prospect of future times, by seeing the foundation of a better world begun to be laid in the careful and conscientious discharge of the duties here mentioned: that by this means *the*

generations to come may know God, and the children yet unborn may fear the Lord.

“ I have great reason to be sensible how fast the infirmities of age are coming upon me, and therefore *must work the works* of him, whose providence hath placed me in the station wherein I am, *whilst it is day, because the night cometh when no man can work.*

“ I knew very well, before I entered upon this great and weighty charge, my own manifold defects, and how unequal my best abilities were for the due discharge of it; but I did not feel this so sensibly as I now do every day more and more. And therefore that I might make some small amends for greater failings, I knew not how better to place the broken hours I had to spare from almost perpetual business of one kind or other, than in preparing something for the public that might be of use to recover the decayed piety and virtue of the present age; in which iniquity doth so much abound, and the love of God and religion is grown so cold.

“ To this end I have chosen to publish these plain sermons, and to recommend them to the serious perusal, and faithful practice both of the pastors and people committed to my charge; earnestly beseeching Almighty God, that by his blessing they may prove effectual to that good end for which they are sincerely designed.”

I need not relate the good effects of these, or any other of his grace's excellent compositions, they were visible in that eager thirst the world had after them; and if well watering the flock be one great duty in the shepherd, never did any pastor perform it better. Yet in the midst of these good works he could not escape the envy and malice of men; and it were easy to gather a plentiful bundle of their invectives, if we thought such an entertainment fit

to be transmitted to posterity. But they are dead, some in their authors, some in their malignant pens, and all in the memory of good men. It will be enough to touch upon them generally, in the words of one * we have often been obliged to quote. "How false soever these calumnies were generally known to be, the confidence with which they were averred, joined with the envy that accompanies a high station, had a greater operation than could have been imagined; considering how long he had lived on so public a scene, and how well he was known. It seemed a new and unusual thing, that a man who in a course of above thirty years had done so much good, so many services to so many persons, without ever once doing an ill office, or a hard thing to any one person, who had a sweetness and gentleness in him, that seemed rather to lean to excess, should yet meet with so much unkindness and injustice. But the returns of impudence and malice which were made to the Son of God himself, and to his apostles, taught him to bear all this with submission to the will of God; praying for those who despitefully used him, and upon all occasions doing them good for evil. Nor had this any other effect on him, either to change his temper or his maxims, though perhaps it might sink too much into him, with relation to his health. He was so exactly true in all his representations of things or persons, that he laid before their majesties, that he neither raised the character of his friends, nor sunk that of those who deserved not so well of him (I love not to say enemies) but offered every thing to them with that sincerity that did so well become him, that truth and candour was almost perceptible in every thing he said or

* The bishop of Salisbury.

did. His looks and whole manner seemed to take away all suspicion concerning him. For he thought nothing in this world was worth much art, or great management. With all these things he struggled, till at last they overcame him, or rather he overcame them, and escaped from them." For on the 17th day of November, in the year 1694, he was seized with a sudden illness, which proved fatal to him, and mournful to all the friends of true piety. The first attacks came upon him while he was in that employment in which he delighted most, at church, and in the worship of God. He bore them with his usual neglect of himself; and though his countenance shewed he was ill, he would neither interrupt nor break off from those sacred exercises, nor make haste to look after his health. Ah! the unhappy neglect of a life that deserved so well to be carefully preserved! The fit came on slowly, but seemed to be fatal. All symptoms were melancholy. It soon turned to a dead palsy. The oppression was so great, that it became very uneasy for him to speak, but it appeared that his understanding was still clear, though others could not have the advantage of it: he only said, *that he had no burthen on his conscience.* All remedies proved ineffectual. He expressed no concern to live, nor fear to die, but patiently bore his burthen, till it sunk him on the fifth day, and in the sixty-fifth year of his age. Thus he lived and thus he died. He was buried on the 30th of the same month, in the church of St. Lawrence Jewry, the bishop of Salisbury preaching his funeral sermon, taking for his text St Paul's Epistle to Tim. chap. iv. ver. 1. *I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.* In his discourse, though from the natural talents of the preacher, which were very great, and the intimacy of their friendship,

friendship, of which none had a greater share, one might reasonably expect justice to the memory of the deceased; yet was it such a subject that even bishop Burnet could not himself reach in all its views, and describe with an adequate eloquence. He has said indeed a great deal, and his enemies have thought a great deal too much.

Speaking of his early candour and moderation towards those persons who differed from him, "he did not," says his lordship, "treat them with contempt and hatred; and he disliked all levities and railings upon those subjects. This gave him great advantages in dealing with them, and he still persisted in it, how much soever it was either disliked or suspected by angry men. As he got into a true method of study, so he entered into friendships with some great men, which contributed not a little to the perfecting his own mind. There was then a set of as extraordinary persons in the University where he was formed, as perhaps any age has produced: they had clear thoughts, and a vast compass; great minds, and noble tempers. But that which gave him his last finishing, was his close and long friendship with bishop Wilkins. He went into all the best things that were in that great man, but so, that he perfected every one of them: for though bishop Wilkins was the more universal man, yet he was the greater divine: if the one had more flame, the other was more correct. Both acted with great plainness, and were raised above regarding vulgar censures. But if bishop Wilkins had a talent so peculiar to himself, that perhaps never man could admonish and reprove with such weight and authority, and in a way so obliging as he did; so no man knew better than this his great friend, the art of gaining upon men's hearts, and of making themselves find out that which might be amiss in

in them, though the gentleness and modesty of his temper had not so well fitted him for the rough work of reproof.

“ Having dedicated himself to the service of the church, and being sensible of the great good that might be done by a plain and edifying way of preaching, he was very little disposed to follow the patterns then set him, or indeed those of former times. And so he set a pattern to himself, and such an one it was, that it is hoped it will be long and much followed. He began with a deep and close study of the Scriptures, upon which he spent four or five years, till he had arrived at a true understanding of them. He studied next all the ancient philosophers and books of morality. Among the fathers, St. Basil and St. Chrysostom were those he chiefly read. Upon these preparations he set himself to compose the greatest variety of sermons, and on the best subjects, that perhaps any one man has ever yet done. His joining with bishop Wilkins in pursuing the scheme of an *universal character*, led him to consider exactly the truth of language and stile, in which no man was happier, and knew better the art of preserving the majesty of things under a simplicity of words; tempering these so equally together, that neither did his thoughts sink, nor his stile swell: keeping always the due mean between a low flatness and the dresses of false rhetoric. Together with the pomp of words he did also cut off all superfluities and needless enlargements: he said what was just necessary to give clear ideas of things, and no more: he laid aside all long and affected periods: his sentences were short and clear; and the whole thread was of a piece, plain and distinct. No affectations of learning, no squeezing of texts, no superficial strains, no false thoughts, nor bold flights, all was solid

solid and yet lively, and grave as well as fine: so that few ever heard him, but they found some new thought occurred; something that either they had not considered before, or at least so distinctly, and with so clear a view as he gave them.

“ Whether he explained points of divinity, matters of controversy, or the rules of morality, on which he dwelt most copiously, there was something peculiar in him on them all, that conquered the minds, as well as it commanded the attention of his hearers; who felt all the while that they were learning somewhat, and were never tired by him; for he cut off both the luxuriances of stile, and the length of sermons; and he concluded them with some thoughts of such gravity and use, that he generally dismissed his hearers with somewhat that stuck to them. He read his sermons with so due a pronunciation, in so sedate and solemn a manner, that they were not the feebler, but rather the perfecter, even by that way, which often lessens the grace, as much as it adds to the exactness of such discourses.

“ He saw, with a deep regret, the fatal corruption of this age, while the hypocrisies and extravagancies of former times, and the liberties and looseness of the present, disposed many to atheism and impiety. He therefore went far into this matter: and as he had considered all the ancient and modern apologies for the Christian Religion, with an exactness that became the importance of the subject, so he set the whole strength of his thoughts and studies to withstand the progress that this was making. In order to that he laboured particularly to bring every thing out of the clearest principles, and to make all people feel the reasonableness of the truths, as well as of the precepts of the Christian Religion. When he saw that Popery was at
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the root of this, and that the design seemed to be laid, to make us first Atheists, that we might be the more easily made Papists, and that many did not stick to own, that we could have no certainty for the Christian faith, unless we believed the infallibility of the church; this gave him a deep and just indignation. It was such a betraying of the cause of God, rather than not to gain their own, that in this the foundation was laid of his great zeal against Popery. This drew his studies for some years much that way. He looked on the whole complex of Popery as such a corruption of the whole design of Christianity, that he thought it was incumbent on him, to set himself against it, with the zeal and courage which became that cause, and was necessary for those times. He thought the idolatry and superstition of the Church of Rome did enervate true piety and morality; and that their cruelty was such a contradiction to the meekness of Christ, and to that love and charity which he made the character and distinction of his disciples and followers, that he resolved to sacrifice every thing, except a good conscience, in a cause for which he had resolved, if it should come to extremities, to become a sacrifice to, himself.

“ His enemies soon saw how much he stood in their way, and were not wanting in the arts of calumny, to disable him from opposing them with that great success which his writings and sermons had on the nation. His life was too pure in all the parts of it, to give them a pretence to attempt on that. So regular a piety, such an unblemished probity, and so extensive and tender a charity, together with his great and constant labours, both in private and public, set him above reproach. That honourable society* which treated him always with

* Lincoln's-Inn.

so particular a respect, and so generous a kindness; and this great city, not only the neighbourhood of this place, which was so long happy in him, but the whole extent of it, knew him too well, and esteemed him too much, for those his enemies to adventure on the common arts of defaming: subtle methods were to be used, since his virtue was too exemplary to be soiled in the ordinary way.

“ His endeavouring to make out every thing in religion from clear and plain principles, and with a fulness of demonstrative proof, was laid hold on to make him pass for one that could believe nothing that lay beyond the compass of human reason: and his tender method of treating with Dissenters, his endeavours to extinguish that fire, and to unite us among ourselves, against those who understood their own interest well, and pursued it closely, inflaming our differences, and engaging us into violent animosities, while they shifted sides, and still gained ground, whether in the methods of toleration, or of a strict execution of penal laws, as it might serve their ends; those calm and wise designs of his, I say, were represented as a want of zeal in the cause of the church, and an inclination towards those who departed from it. But how unhappily successful soever they might be, in infusing those jealousies of him, into some warm and unwary men, he still went on in his own way. He would neither depart from his moderation, nor take pains to cover himself from so false an imputation. He thought the openness of his temper, the course of his life, his sincerity, and the visible effects of his labours, which had contributed so much to turn the greatest part of this vast city to a hearty love of the church, and a firm adhering to the communion of it, in which no man was ever more eminently distinguished than he was: he thought, I say, that

that constant zeal with which he had always served such as came to labour in this great city, and by which he had been so singularly useful to them; he thought the great change that had been made in bringing men's minds off from many wild opinions, to sober and steady principles, and that in so prudent a manner, that things were done without men's perceiving it, or being either startled or fretted by the peevishness which is raised and kept up by contradiction or disputing, in which, without derogating from other men's labours, no man had a larger share than himself; upon all these reasons, I say, he thought that his conduct needed no apology, but that it was above it.

“ After the restoration of the church, anger upon those heads was both more in fashion, and seemed more excusable; men coming then out of the injustice and violence by which they had been so long ill used, and were so much provoked: yet neither that, nor the narrowness of his fortune, while he needed supports, and saw what was the shortest way to arrive at them, could make him change his strain.

“ His life was not only free from blemishes, which is but a low size of commendation; it shined in all the parts of it. In his domestic relations, in his friendships, in the whole commerce of business, he was always a pattern, easy and humble, frank and open, tender-hearted and bountiful, kind and obliging, in the greatest as well as the smallest matters. A decent but grave cheerfulness made his conversation as lively and agreeable, as it was useful and instructing: he was ever in good humour, always the same, both accessible and affable: he heard every thing patiently: was neither apt to mistake nor to suspect: his own great candour disposing him to put the best constructions, and to judge

judge the most favourably of all persons and things. He past over many injuries, and was ever ready to forgive the greatest, and to do all good offices even to those who had used him very ill. He was never imperious nor assuming: and though he had a superior judgment to most men, yet he never dictated to others. Few men had observed human nature more carefully, could judge better, and make larger allowances for the frailties of mankind than he did. He lived in a due neglect of his person, and contempt of pleasure, but never affected pompous severities. He despised wealth, but as it furnished him for charity, in which he was both liberal and judicious.

“ Thus his course in the private virtues and capacities of a Christian was of a sublime pitch: his temper had made him incapable of the practices either of craft or violence.

“ In his function, he was a constant preacher, and diligent in all the other parts of his duty: for though he had no care of souls upon him, yet few that had, laboured so painfully as he did; in visiting the sick, in comforting the afflicted, and in settling such as were either shaken in their opinions, or troubled in mind. He had a great compass in learning: what he knew, he had so perfectly digested, that he was truly the master of it. But the largeness of his genius, and the correctness of his judgment, carried him much farther, than the leisure that he had enjoyed for study, seemed to furnish him: for he could go a great way upon general hints. Thus he lived, thus he ran, and thus *he finished his course.*

“ *He kept the faith.* If fidelity is meant by this, no man made promises more unwillingly, but observed them more religiously than he did. The sacred vows of his function were conscientiously pursued

pursued by him: he reckoned himself dedicated to the service of God, and to the doing of good. In this he lived; and seemed to live to no other end. But if by *keeping the faith*, be to be understood the preserving and handing down the sacred trust of the Christian doctrine, this he maintained pure and undefiled. Even in his younger days, when he had a great liveliness of thought, and fineness of imagination, he avoided the disturbing the peace of the church with particular opinions, or an angry opposition about more indifferent, or doubtful matters. He lived indeed in great friendship with men that differed from him. He thought the surest way to bring them off from their mistakes, was by gaining upon their hearts and affections: and in an age of such great dissolution as this is, he judged that the best way to put a stop to growing impiety, was first to establish the principles of natural religion, and from that to advance to the proof of the Christian Religion, and of the Scriptures: which being once solidly done, would soon settle all other things. Therefore he was in great doubt, whether the surest way to persuade the world to the belief of the sublime truths that are contained in the Scriptures, concerning God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and concerning the person of Christ, was to enter much into the discussing of those mysteries. He feared that an indiscreet dwelling and descanting upon those things, might do more hurt than good. He thought the maintaining these doctrines as they are proposed in the Scriptures, without entering too much into explanations or controversies, would be the most effectual way to preserve the reverence that was due to them, and to fix them in men's belief. But when he was desired by some, and provoked by others, and saw just occasions moving him to it, he asserted those great mysteries

mysteries with that strength and clearness, that was his peculiar talent. He thought the less men's consciences were entangled, and the less the communion of the church was clogged with disputable opinions or practices, the world would be the happier, consciences the freer, and the church the quieter. He made the Scriptures the measure of his faith, and the chief subject of all his meditations.

“ He indeed judged that the great design of Christianity was the reforming mens' natures, and governing their actions, the restraining their appetites and passions, the softening their tempers, and sweetening their humours, the composing their affections, and the raising their minds above the interests and follies of this present world, to the hope and pursuit of endless blessedness: and he considered the whole Christian doctrine as a system of principles, all tending to this. He looked on mens' contending about lesser matters, or about subtleties relating to those that are greater, as one of the chief practices of the powers of darkness, to defeat the true ends for which the Son of God came into the world; and that they did lead men into much dry and angry work, who while they were hot in the making parties, and settling opinions, became so much the slacker in those great duties, which were chiefly designed by the Christian doctrine.

“ I have now viewed him in this light, in which St. Paul does here view himself, and have considered how much of that character belonged to him. I have reason to believe that he went over these things often in his own thoughts, with the same prospect that St. Paul had: for though he seemed not to apprehend that death was so near him, as it proved to be, yet he thought it was not far from him. He spoke often of it as that which he was longing for, and which he would welcome with joy.”

We

We see that this is but a summary view of this great man, and such a one as carries with it all the marks of truth, candour, and sincerity. If we should add the character which others, less suspected by some of partiality than the foregoing author, give, we shall find that they exceed what his friend had said. Dean Sherlock, speaking of the great and noble designs queen Mary * had formed to promote true religion, and the service of the Church of England, could not help upon this occasion giving a just encomium upon the archbishop in the following manner: "I have" (says he) "reason to say this from those frequent intimations I have had from our late admirable primate, who had great designs himself to serve the Christian religion, and the Church of England, in its truest interests; and had inspired their majesties, and particularly the queen, who had more leisure for such thoughts, with the same great and pious designs. It may be no churchman ever had, and I am sure, not more deservedly, a greater interest in his prince's favour; and the great use he made of it was to do public service to religion, and whatever some men might suspect, to the Church of England, though it may be not perfectly in their way; and the greatest fault, I knew he had, was, that some envious and ambitious men could not bear his greatness, which he himself never courted, nay, which he industriously avoided. Before this, all England knew, and owned his worth; and had it been put to the poll, there had been vast odds on his side, that he would have been voted into the see of Canterbury; for no man had ever a clearer and brighter reason, a truer judgment, or more

* See his Sermon preached at the Temple on the Queen's Death.

easy and happy expression, nor a more inflexible fearless honesty. He was a true and hearty friend wherever he professed to be so; though he had many enemies at last, he took care to make none; he was obliging to all men; and though he could not easily part with a friend, he could easily forgive an enemy. But I cannot give you the character of this great man now; what I have already said, I confess, is an excursion, which I hope you will pardon, to the passion of an old friend; and learn from two great examples, that neither the greatest innocence, virtue, or merit, can defend either crowned or mitred heads from the lash of spiteful and envenomed tongues." Thus far dean Sherlock. Another friend says of him; "When he was importuned to use his interest with great men for his friends, upon any vacancies of preferment in their gift, he would sometimes desire to be excused from it, telling them that he had often paid dear for such favours, since he had been forced in return, and upon their request, to give livings to others, which were of double or treble value to those he had obtained from them, and yet this could not be avoided; and therefore he intreated those who had expectations from him, patiently to wait till preferments fell, which were in his own gift, and disposal."

Not to add the many panegyrics upon him from printed books, I cannot pass by one from a manuscript diary of a late learned and pious divine, because there is a particular in it which must arise from a personal knowledge of bishop Tillotson. "He taught,"³ says he, "by his sermons, more

³ *He taught.*] See *Life of the Rev. Mr. William Burkit, M. A. Vicar and Lecturer of Dedham, by Nath. Parkhurst, M. A. London. 1704. 8vo. p. 32.*

ministers to preach well, and more people to live well, than any other man since the Apostles' days; he was the ornament of the last century, and the glory of his function; in the pulpit another Chrysostom, and in the episcopal chair a second Cranmer. He was so exceeding charitable, that while in a private station, he always laid aside two-tenths of his income for charitable uses."

Of his grace's writings, one volume in folio, consisting of fifty-two sermons, and the *Rule of Faith*, were published in his life-time, and corrected by his own hand. Those which came abroad after his death from his chaplain Dr. Barker, make two volumes in folio, the value, of which, if we may judge from the price of the copy, being two thousand five hundred guineas, is not inferior to the former. This, indeed, was the only legacy he left to his family, his extensive charity consuming his yearly revenues as constantly as they came to his hands. If charity be the characteristic of a true disciple, surely he who exhausted all he had in the noblest manner, and trusted in Providence for the future support of his own family, deserves that name more truly, than any in these late corrupted ages can pretend to. But the God whom he served in the strictest of the letter of the Commandment, suffered not them to want, the royal bounty exerting itself to his widow, as I find in the two following grants, taken from the original records in the Office of the Rolls in Chancery-lane, viz.

Anno 7^o Guliel. Tertio.

"The king (May 2) granteth unto Elizabeth Tillotson, widow, and relict of John, late archbishop of Canterbury, an annuity of 400l. during the term of her natural life."

Anno

Anno 10^o Guliel. Tertio.

“ The king (August 18th) granteth unto Elizabeth Tillotson, relict of archbishop Tillotson, 200l. per annum, as an addition to her annuity of 400l. per annum, granted to her by letters patent dated May 2, 1695.”

As to the family of the archbishop, all that we can learn of them is, that his lady was the daughter of Dr. French, whose widow bishop Wilkins married: that he himself mentions the loss of his only daughter, in his letter to Mr. Hunt; and that she was married to James Chadwick, esq. to whom bishop Williams dedicates his Vindication of his Grace's Sermons from the Charge of Socinianism.

Thus much could we collect of this great man, which though but imperfect, the bishop of Salisbury, who supplied us with some Memoirs, and promising us many more, dying while this work was in hand; but if any one can give us any farther notices of any thing that relates to him, we shall hereafter insert them with all due acknowledgment and gratitude.

ANNO 1653

The King's High Court of Chancery
In the said Court of Chancery
Sheweth that the said Archbishop
Tillotson, as an addition to his ordinary
jurisdiction, was by letters patent dated
the 10th of June 1653

As to the faculty of the archbishop, all that he
can learn of them is, that the lady was the daughter
of Dr. Fynde, whose widow bishop Wilkins mar-
ried: that he himself mentions the loss of his only
daughter, in his letter to Mr. Hunt; and that she
was married to James Chabot, esp. to whom
bishop Wilkins dedicated his Visitation of his
Grace's Sermons from the Charge of Secularization.

That much could be collected of the great injury
which though not immediate, the change of bene-
fice who supplied us with some income, and
promising us many more, they while this work
was in hand; but if any one can give us any
other notice of any thing that relates to him, we
shall be glad to insert them with all due acknowl-
edgment and gratitude.

And whereas the said Archbishop
Tillotson, as an addition to his ordinary
jurisdiction, was by letters patent dated
the 10th of June 1653

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